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1839

THE

CRUSADERS;

OR,

SCENES, EVENTS, AND CHARACTERS,

FROM THE TIMES OF

THE CRUSADES.

BY THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,

AUTHOR OF

"THE MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT GREECE, AND ITALY;" "TALES AND POPULAR FICTIONS;" ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND EDUCATION, APPOINTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

LONDON:

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

MDCCCXXXIV.

LONDON : PRINTD BY S. BENTLEY, DORSET-STREET.

PREFACE.

THE flattering reception which the first volume of the 'CRUSADERS,' destitute of novelty as the subject might appear to be, has met with, causes the appearance of the present volume, which like the former embraces the space of about half a century. In this the narrative is carried down to the taking of Jerusalem by sultan Saladin, and terminates with the crusade headed by Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion. At this point also the work concludes. It was not designed to be a complete history of the Crusades, and the writer therefore considered himself at liberty to stop wherever he deemed it most convenient.

It cannot be regarded as presumption in the writer to say, that he is convinced that the Crusades and the Crusaders will be better known from these volumes than from Mr. Mills' History of the Crusades, or any of the other works on the subject in our language. It is also hoped, that they will be instrumental in correcting the erroneous ideas given by

those writers who have made the Crusades the theme of their romances.

There are two modern works to which the author has to acknowledge his obligations. These are Raumer's most valuable *Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*, and the *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* of the 'all-exhausting' Wilken. To the former, he was much indebted in his account of the First Crusade, particularly for the pontiff's speech and the graphic and accurate descriptions of Antioch and Jerusalem; the latter, by its fulness and accuracy, has saved him much labour in consulting the original authorities. The fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque des Croisades* furnished most of the Oriental materials employed.

T. K.

London, April 2, 1834.

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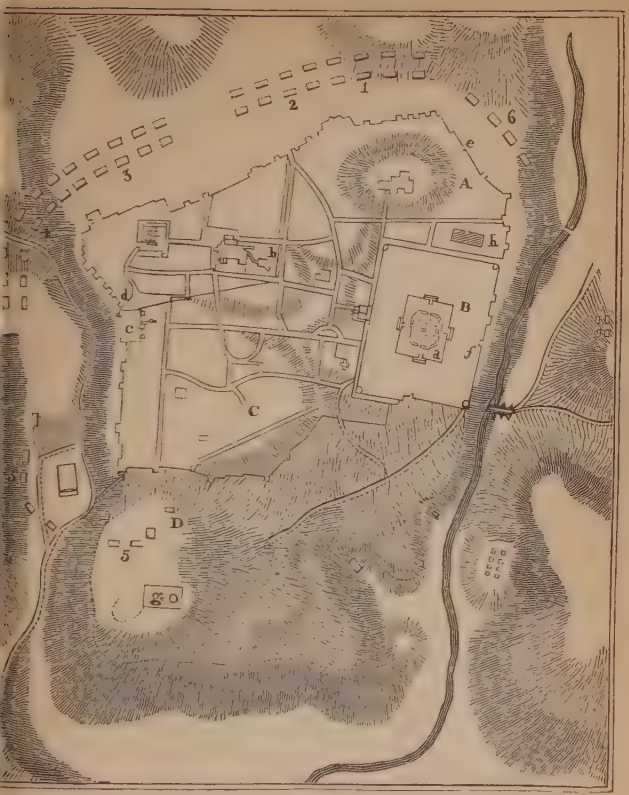

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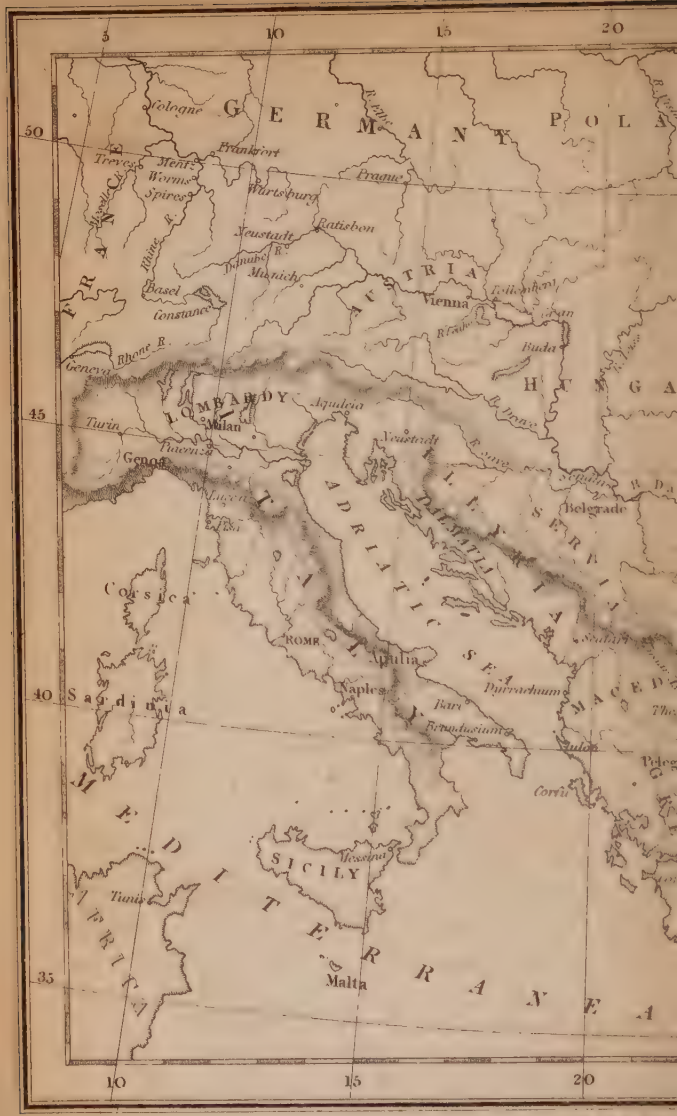
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SICILY
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Tunis
Malta
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Published, by

West Strand, 1834

Drawn & Engraved by J.& C. Walker

THE CRUSADERS.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.*

STATE OF THINGS IN FRANCE.

The dismay in the Christian settlements in the East, caused by the loss of Edessa, and the prospect of the consolidation of the Mohammedan power in Syria, was necessarily very great. Like all colonists, the Latins naturally looked for aid in time of need to the parent state. Accordingly the most pressing letters from the queen, the patriarch, the prelates, and barons of Jerusalem, were brought to Europe, which pictured the forlorn condition of the holy places, and implored the aid of the valiant knights of France.

But times were different now from what they had been half a century before. Then the East was in a great measure an unknown land, imagination was

* The principal authorities for the Second Crusade are, besides the Archbishop of Tyre, Odo de Diogilo *(Deuil) De Exped. Lud. VII. in Orientem*, Otto of Freysingen *De gest. Frid. I.* and the Greek writers Cinnamus and Nicetas.

therefore at liberty to cast over it her illusive hues, and the simple eloquence of a Peter the Hermit sufficed to rouse nations and princes to arms. Now the illusion was dispelled; the toils and dangers of the march through Asia were well-known; narratives of the sufferings of the first crusaders had been cómposed; there were few families of which some member had not joined one of the various armies or caravans of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and who had not either perished on the road, or returned home with a dismal tale of sufferings undergone. It was also seen to what poverty many of the first crusaders had reduced their families, by selling their lands to equip themselves for expeditions in which they had only found their death.

The belief of the necessity, though not of the merit, of pilgrimage, was perhaps also abated. In France piety had at this time made itself a new vent. It was believed that the erection of stately churches, especially if in honour of the Virgin-mother of God, was a work most acceptable in the sight of Heaven, and, therefore, of avail for the removal of sin. Pious fraternities, composed of all ages, ranks, and sexes, were formed for this purpose; into these none was admitted who did not contritely acknowledge and do penance for their sins, and promise unfeigned Christian love to their brethren, and obedience to the priests who were set over the work. Then might be seen men and women of noble birth, laying aside all worldly pomp and pride, and yoking themselves, like beasts of burden, to the waggons laden

with provisions, or with lime, stone, and timber, and other things necessary for the building, and dragging them over hills and dales, and through the streams of water. The utmost silence prevailed among them, not a voice was to be heard while the waggons were in motion; when they halted to rest, confessions of sin and prayers for grace alone met the ear. Before each train of waggons banners were displayed, and trumpets blew the signal for setting forward. When they reached the church, the waggons were drawn up in a circle round it, and the faithful kept watch at them, singing psalms and hymns all through the night: waxen tapers and other lights were placed on each waggon, and the sick and feeble were laid on them; the relics of the saints were brought forth, and processions of the clergy, followed by the people, went round imploring favour of God and the Virgin for these afflicted persons. It was believed that these prayers were not in vain, that the sick were restored to health, the dumb spake, and demons departed from those of whom they had taken possession. Enthusiasm and superstition were at their height, and men thought they beheld the effects which they wished to see.

A people with whom piety was taking this humble direction, might seem more difficult to excite to the employment of arms in the cause of Heaven than the generation which first marched to the East, and, as we have observed, the eloquence of the Hermit might have produced no effect upon them; but in the economy of the world we may perceive, that where

an effect is to be produced the fitting agent is always at hand. The Western Christians were to march again in arms to Asia, and the man whose voice was adequate to rouse them was abiding among them in the stillness of his monastery.

SAINT BERNARD.

In the twelfth century a perceptible change was taking place in the state of things in the West of Europe. The intercourse between nations had increased, knowledge was extended, literature began to be more cultivated, and mind to exert its proper influence, and bend brute force beneath its yoke. One of the strongest instances of this altered state of things is, the sight of pontiffs and kings hearkening with reverence and yielding a willing obedience to the words of a monk of delicate frame, of simple life, but of superior mind and of commanding eloquence.

St. Bernard was born either four or five years before the Hermit preached the first crusade. His father, Tecelin the Blond, was a Burgundian knight of noble extraction, lord of Fontaines, near Dijon; his mother, Eliza, the daughter of the lord of Montbard, had been destined, by her father, to the cloister; but in her fifteenth year he yielded her hand to the suit of Tecelin the Blond. Their marriage was happy; the husband was upright and honourable, the wife, amid her household duties, retained the piety which was to have been exercised in a convent. She dedicated to the Lord, as soon as they were born, her

six sons, and one daughter, all of whom, contrary to the usage of persons of her rank in society, she suckled herself. Like many pious, well-meaning, but injudicious parents, Dame Eliza thought the mode of making her children pious was to bring them up with the utmost strictness; she kept them, therefore, constant to their prayers and spiritual exercises; made them live on hard fare, and practise all the austerities of the cloister. She set them, through life, in her own person, an example of the most rigorous piety and self-denial; and she passed her latter days in visiting and attending on the sick and poor, and performing offices of real Christian love. She died in tranquillity, her bed surrounded by the ministers of religion, who chaunted litanies, in which she joined as long as she had sufficient strength to articulate.

As might naturally be expected, Dame Eliza's hopes of seeing her children become patterns of piety were, for the time at least, disappointed. The world, it would appear, to be renounced, must be first known and enjoyed. In the eyes of four of her sons, the gaiety of dress, the pomp of courts, and the animation of martial exercises, seemed more suitable to youth, than fastings, prayers, and bodily castigations: and her daughter Humbelina, says the biographer of the Saint, clung with all her heart to the vanities of the world.

Not so Bernard, the third son: religion seemed his destination from his birth. His mother, we are told, ere he came to the light, was informed in a dream,

that God had chosen him for a zealous watchman of the Church against her foes, and one whose tongue would heal the diseases of the souls of many.* On this dream the youthful Bernard often pondered after the death of his pious mother, and her image, warning him against the seductions of the world, and complaining that he was leaving the path on which she had placed him, to go after the darkness of human wisdom, hovered constantly before his eyes. His elder brothers, who were in the service of the duke of Burgundy, sharing in all the tumults of feudal life, besought him not to think of withdrawing himself totally from the world, and exhorted him to apply himself to the study of the scholastic philosophy then in such high repute. At their desire he attended a celebrated school at Chatillon sur Seine, and here he learned to despise the vanity of the science, while he acquired those dialectic weapons with which he afterwards combated it, and a degree of readiness in writing the Latin language, beyond what was usual at the time. He also, while here, made himself so familiar with the Scriptures, that he smote his astonished adversaries with texts of holy writ as with thunderbolts.

Bernard was a youth of a handsome person and a most agreeable countenance; his hair was fair, his voice pleasing, and his tongue eloquent. His vir-

* She had dreamed that she bare a barking white dog with a reddish back. It was interpreted for her as above, by a monk whom she consulted about it. The reason why the dog was so coloured will presently appear.

tue was therefore frequently exposed to temptation; and his biographers, in their simple style, narrate various instances of his trials and victories over the flesh. These temptations, however, had only the effect of convincing him that it was his duty to fly the world, and not to continue to abide with the serpent. One day he was going to visit his brothers, who were in the camp of the duke of Burgundy, beleaguering the castle of Grancey. As he went along, his thoughts were employed on the follies and vanities of the world; and he at last was so completely overcome with a longing after the things appertaining to Heaven, that he entered a church on the way-side, cast himself down before the altar, and with tears and prayers devoted himself anew to the service of God.

His resolution was now finally taken, and he was not to be diverted from it. His kinsmen and friends listened with astonishment to the fervour and eloquence with which he spake of God and heavenly things. Soon his uncle Galderic, lord of Touillon, near Autun, was seen renouncing his wealthy possessions to devote himself to Heaven with Bernard. His younger brothers, Andrew and Bartholomew, did not long resist his exhortations; nay, his elder brothers, who had so long opposed his embracing the monastic life, declared their intention now of embracing it themselves. The only obstacle was the wife of Guy, the eldest, who refused obstinately to assent to a divorce from him. In despair he was going to renounce his worldly goods, and to support her and himself by the labour of his hands. Ber-

nard, in reliance on the mercy of God, ventured to assure his brother that she would either change her mind, or die ere long. This, we are assured, was his first prophecy. In effect, she shortly afterwards did fall sick, and coming to what was then thought a better way of thinking, she sent for Bernard, and consented to her husband's taking the monastic vows. She then recovered, and became a nun in a convent at Dijon.

Bernard, his brothers and relations, now retired to a house at Chatillon sur Seine, where, without quitting their secular habit, they passed six months in such devotion and austerity as excited the astonishment and admiration of every one who heard of them. An invincible desire of joining their society seized all who beheld them; and those whose secular engagements prevented their so doing, bitterly bewailed their untoward fortune. The power of Bernard's eloquence was such that mothers were obliged to conceal their sons, wives their husbands, people in general their friends, lest carried away by his persuasions to a holy life in celibacy and the cloister, they should abandon the world and all their social duties.

Thirty persons had now joined the little society at Chatillon, and in the year 1113, the 22nd year of his age, Bernard led them to the convent of Citeaux, then under its third abbot, Stephen Harding, an Englishman. The rigid rule prescribed by its first abbot had hitherto deterred men from entering this society, and its few members were mourning over

its condition. But just at this time a brother, who was on his death-bed, had a dream which raised their hopes. He saw in a vision a great number of men washing their clothes in the brook which ran by the church; and one appeared who told him the name of that brook was Hinnom. From this the brethren drew consoling auguries, which began to receive their completion when Bernard and his friends appeared among them. As several of the new brethren had wives who also wished to embrace a life of holy seclusion, a nunnery, to receive them, was erected at Juilly, near Langres, which, strange as it may perhaps seem, soon contained within its walls Bernard's sister Humbelina! For coming one day tricked out in worldly pomp and vanity to visit her pious brothers in their convent, she was with harsh words repelled by her brother Andrew, who came to the convent gate to receive her, and Bernard refused even to see her.* This brought her to reflection, and as a humbled and contrite sinner she sought comfort and advice from Bernard. He gently reminded her of the vanity and folly of the world, and set before her the example of her godly mother. She promised on the spot to make her mother's life her model; and two years afterwards, not deeming even this sufficient, she, with the consent of her husband, took the veil. Tecelin himself, too, soon abandoned the

* Andrew, in allusion to her gaudy garments and her worldly mind, called her a wrapped-up piece of dung, (*Stercus involutum*) and Bernard sent to say that he could not see her as she was one of the Devil's nets to catch souls with.

world and its vanities, and joined his pious sons in their cloister: and Bernard thus had the satisfaction of seeing his whole family withdrawn from the world and its allurements.

The abbey at Citeaux was soon not large enough to contain all the brethren whom the zealous labours of Bernard drew thither: and members were sent from it to several newly-founded convents. The most famous of these was one which was erected in 1115, in a rugged retired valley of Burgundy, near the river Aube, named the Wormwood-Vale, (*Vallis absinthialis*,) either from its ungenial aspect, or from its being the haunt of robbers, who sallied from it to plunder unwary travellers. When it became the abode of pious men, it received the more inviting appellation of the Bright Valley, Clairvaux (*Clara Vallis.*) Over this religious colony the abbot of Citeaux set the youthful Bernard, whose zeal and activity, notwithstanding his delicate health, justified the wisdom of the abbot's choice. Clairvaux soon exceeded Citeaux in the fame of rigour and piety. Its young abbot set his monks an example of every thing in his own person; he required no austerity or self-denial of them, which, weak as his constitution was, he did not practise himself. Beech-leaves were their ordinary vegetables; and their bread of barley, rye, and tares, was shown as a curiosity in the world by a member of another convent, who had been entertained by them. The miracles, which the ignorance and credulity of his admirers, and not his own vanity or hypocrisy, ascribed to Bernard, also tended

greatly to augment the fame of Clairvaux, and new members continually sued for admission. Another convent was built in a more agreeable part of the valley, and it speedily was filled. During the time that Bernard was over the abbey of Clairvaux, not less than one hundred and sixty colonies were sent out of it to different parts of Christendom: some even so far as Denmark and Sweden. Several cardinal-bishops and cardinal-priests went forth from its hallowed precincts; and Bernard had at length the satisfaction of seeing one of his monks ascend the papal throne, under the title of Eugenius III., who lent a willing ear, amidst the power and splendour with which he was invested, to the counsels and admonitions of his former superior.

Those who left Clairvaux to settle in other places, spread far and wide the fame of the wisdom and piety of its abbot. In difficult cases of conscience, his counsel was sought by visits and letters from all parts of the Christian world; and his answers display mildness, sagacity, and a degree of good sense and judgement in the treatment of delicate points, hardly to be expected in the twelfth century. Princes and nobles also sought the aid of his wisdom on various occasions, and the polish and refinement of his manners, owing to his noble birth and early education, made his counsels doubly agreeable to them. But though he went into the world and was well acquainted with its affairs, his heart was always with his monks at Clairvaux, and, when among them, he used to indulge in innocent sports and jocularity,

as a relaxation from the serious thoughts which habitually occupied his mind.

In the year 1130, the party of the anti-pope Anacletus was strong and turbulent in France, particularly in Guienne. The lawful pontiff, Innocent II. fixed upon the abbot of Clairvaux as the person most capable of restoring union and peace to the Gallic church, and he joined him in commission with the bishop of Soissons for that purpose. Bernard justified his expectations. He assailed Gerard bishop of Angoulême, the legate of the false pope, and exposed the paltry feeling of wounded vanity which had led him to adopt the course he had taken. He rested not till he had deposed the schismatic bishops whom Gerard had appointed, and had withdrawn from them the support of the temporal princes. The following circumstances, which occurred at this time, will show how well Bernard knew how to work on the superstition, as we would term it, the religious feelings in his eyes, of his contemporaries.

At the council of Parthenay, composed of orthodox prelates, and at which William, duke of Guienne, was present, that prince agreed to acknowledge Innocent as the rightful pope; but, as he refused to withdraw his protection from the schismatic bishops, he remained under the ban of the church, and could not be admitted to the sacrifice of the mass. Accordingly, while Bernard was celebrating mass within the church, the duke, as excommunicate, stood without the doors. When the mass was concluded, and he had blessed the people, Bernard came forth, his face

lighted up with pious zeal, and bearing the consecrated host on a small plate: approaching the duke, he said with an awful voice, "Lo! thou heedest not the prayers of the ministers of the church, who labour to bring thee to the right way. The Son of the Virgin, thy Judge, now cometh before thee, into whose hands thy soul will one time come: Darest thou to despise *Him* also?" All who were present wept aloud at these words; the duke trembled in every limb, and at last sank motionless to the ground. As his knights were raising him, Bernard drew near, jogged him with his foot, and bade him stand up and listen to the word of God. "Here," said he, "is the rightful bishop of Poitiers, whom thou hast hitherto persecuted; reconcile thyself with him by the holy kiss of peace, and conduct him to his see." The duke obeyed, and from that day became one of the most zealous maintainers of the cause of Innocent II. The influence of Bernard was equally great in Germany, and at his desire the emperor Lothaire led an army into Italy, to the aid of the lawful pontiff.

The fame of Bernard's success in France made the friends of Innocent in Italy desirous that he should cross the Alps, and restore tranquillity to the church in that country also. Innocent prevailed on him to accompany him thither in 1132; and in every town which he entered, he was received as an angel of the Lord, and Innocent acknowledged as the lawful successor of St. Peter. He thence proceeded to Germany, to reconcile the emperor Lothaire with Conrad of Hohenstauffen; and this being accomplished,

he returned to Italy, to be present at the council which the pope had summoned to Pisa. His progress was like a triumph; the people of Milan, in particular, received him with every demonstration of reverence, and submitted themselves to Innocent II. In his third visit to Italy, in 1137, he had the satisfaction to see Victor, who had succeeded Anacletus, who was now dead, come to him by night, lay aside the symbols of his usurped authority, and entreat him to lead him to the feet of the lawful pontiff. His seven years' labours were thus, at length, crowned with complete success.

St. Bernard was, all through life, the determined opposer of innovation in the doctrines and discipline of the church. He combated, and reduced to silence, the renowned Peter Abelard, whose acuteness and vanity led him to attempt the explanation of things which cannot be explained, and who thereby fell under the suspicion of maintaining dangerous and heretical opinions. He also opposed with vigour those who in the south of France declaimed against infant baptism, and some other rites of the Church. In fine, his mother's dream was fully accomplished in him; and he was the most active and zealous watchman of the church.

It should not be omitted to St. Bernard's honour, that the highest dignities of the church were proffered to him. Twice did the clergy of Genoa invite him to come and be their head; the episcopal thrones of Milan and Rheims, of Chalons and Langres, were at his disposal; but he loved better his

solitude at Clairvaux, than all the pomp and glitter of the world.

In St. Bernard we may view the model of an orthodox divine, according to the times in which he lived; his natural disposition mild, charitable, and benevolent, zealously attached to his church, a sincere believer in all that she taught, and devoting all the powers of his mind to their support. He sought not to make discoveries of new senses of Scripture, or new systems of theology; his delight was to find out arguments in defence of what was established, and to enforce them with all the powers of his eloquence, and all the acuteness of his intellect. His fame, therefore, and influence, were great with his contemporaries, while, such is our nature, in the eyes of posterity he perhaps shines less brilliantly than the bold and fearless inquirer Peter Abelard, and, with many, excites less admiration than the zealous reformer Arnald of Brescia, whose political principles he combated as vigorously as he did the theological subtleties of Arnald's master, Abelard.*

LOUIS THE YOUNG.

CHIVALRY we are told, had now degenerated, andlost its pristine dignity and purity; knights, instead of combating in the cause of the widow and the orphan, and showing their love and fear of God by respect for his ministers, robbed and plundered all indiscri-

* The preceding account of St. Bernard is furnished by his biographers, who were, of course, his panegyrists.

minately. That such was the character of the chivalry of that age, we cannot doubt, for we have abundant evidence of it; that in the darker ages it had existed in greater purity, is what, without evidence, and guided solely by the known principles of human nature, we may justly question. At all events, conscience then, as ever, asserted her rights, and many brave knights felt that in plundering the Church, the widow, and the orphan, they were acting wrong. The load of guilt thus contracted weighed heavy on their souls, and they would gladly shake it off. For this purpose, an expedition in arms to the East, in the service of the Lord, seemed most efficacious and agreeable to those whose martial spirit perhaps despised the humbler piety of dragging materials for the erection of pompous temples to the Mother of God.

The young king of France, Louis VII. partook of these feelings. This prince, named the Young, to distinguish him from his father, Louis the Fat, who had associated him with himself in his royal dignity when he was but eleven years of age, was at this time only in his twenty-sixth year. He was possessed of more extent of territory than any of his predecessors of the line of Capet, for by his marriage in 1137 with Eleanor, daughter and heiress of duke William X. of Aquitaine, he was become the lord of Guienne, Saintonges, and Poitou, that is, of the country from the Pyrenees to the Loire. He was thus wealthy and powerful; he was, moreover, brave and pious; and he had committed an offence which

called for reparation. It was on the following occasion.

On the death of the archbishop of Bourges, Louis, as was the custom in the ancient domains of the crown, presented to the chapter the person whom he wished to be elected, but the chancellor of the Roman Church prevailed on the Pope Innocent II, to appoint his nephew, Peter de la Châtre, to that see. Louis was enraged at this act of usurpation on the part of the court of Rome; he swore that he would never let La Châtre take possession of the see, and he forced him to seek refuge with Thibaud, count of Champagne and Blois. The pope laid under interdict every place to which the king should come; Louis, on his side, had recourse to arms, and attacked the old count of Champagne, with whom he had also other causes of quarrel. During this war the king, in 1142, made an attack on Vitry, one of the best of his opponent's castles. Having taken it, he set fire to it, and the flames, happening to spread more rapidly than had been expected, reached the principal church, in which the greater part of the people had sought refuge. No means of escape were attainable, and men, women, and children, to the number of thirteen hundred, perished in the flames. The king heard their shrieks when it was too late to save, and when he viewed their bodies half consumed by the flames, he was struck with horror and remorse at what he could not but regard as his own act. He sought, through the mediation of Bernard

of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable of Clugni, a reconciliation with the Church; he offered advantageous terms of peace to the count of Champagne, and was willing to admit La Châtre to the archbishopric of Bourges, provided the pope would release him from the oath he had made to the contrary. This negociation was protracted, and we cannot, perhaps, acquit St. Bernard of some duplicity in his dealing between the king and the pope. It was not concluded when Innocent II. died, in the autumn of 1143; his successor, Celestine II, however, took off the interdict which had been laid on France.

Still Louis' conscience was not at rest; he felt that he had taken an oath contrary to the orders of the Church, and that he had not kept it; he considered himself as in some measure guilty of all the sacrileges and acts of violence committed by his soldiery in the war with the count of Champagne, especially the burning of the church at Vitry; his having been under the censure of the Church during three years had, as he thought, left a moral stain upon him, which required something farther in the way of purification; his brother Philip, he recollected, who had been associated in royalty with his father before him, had made a vow to devote himself to the defence of the Holy Land, and, as he had succeeded him on the throne, he deemed himself bound to perform all his engagements. All these various motives operating on the young monarch's mind determined him, when the intelligence of the fall of

Edessa arrived, to assume the cross and prepare to lead an army to the East.

PREACHING OF THE CRUSADE IN FRANCE.

At Christmas, in the year 1145, the king of France held his plenary court at Bourges, whither, at the call of their prince, repaired a numerous assemblage of the nobles of the realm. Here the bishop of Langres, who was just returned from the Holy Land, arose, and in glowing terms set before them the helpless condition of their brethren in the East, and the power and the barbarous ferocity of the Turks, calling upon the knights of France to arm in the sacred cause. The king at once declared his resolution to assume the cross, and invited his nobles to follow his example. But his more prudent barons prayed him not to be precipitate in engaging in a measure which might prove injurious to himself and his realm, to wait for the advice of the holy father and of the pious abbot of Clairvaux. The king complied with their desire: an embassy was despatched to Rome, to ask counsel of the pontiff, and Vezelay, in the county of Nevers, was appointed to be the place of meeting for a more general assembly at the ensuing festival of Easter.

But if the prudent councillors of Louis expected to find an ally in the pope, they were disappointed. Eugenius IV. who then occupied the papal throne, looked forward to the lustre which a crusade, headed

by a potent monarch, would cast on his pontificate. It is not unlikely, too, that he expected the efforts of Christendom in favour of the Holy Land to be crowned with success. He therefore, in his reply, highly commended the zeal of Louis, and expressed his regret that the troubled state of the holy see* prevented himself from being the first to put his hand to the sacred work. He wrote a letter to the king, exhorting him and his knights to lose no time in taking arms in the cause of Heaven, granting, in as full terms as Urban II. had done, remission of their sins to all who did so; taking their families and their property under the protection of the church, releasing them from all interest for their debts, permitting vassals to pledge their fiefs without asking the consent of their superior lords. He finally charged them not to spend their money on hawks and hounds, and costly garments for the indulgence of their vanity, but to buy with it the best of arms and horses, and what else was needful for their conflict with the infidels.

At the same time Eugenius appointed his former abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux, to be the preacher of the new crusade, and excite the warriors of France to arms. No fitter instrument could have been selected, for not only did Bernard enjoy a degree of influence and consideration, such as no man of the time possessed, but the preservation of the holy places was

* This was caused by the followers of Arnald of Brescia, who were endeavouring to transfer the temporalities of the papacy to the Patrician and Senate which they had set up at Rome.

with him a solemn duty, and he had always taken a peculiar interest in the welfare of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Pilgrimage was a duty as sacred in his eyes as in those of his contemporaries, and though, with the good sense which distinguished him, he dissuaded prelates and those who had weighty duties to perform at home from rambling to the Holy Land, he encouraged the zeal of those who, free from important engagements, journeyed thither at the impulse of real piety.

At the time when he received the mandate of the vicar of Christ to rouse Christendom again to arms against the heathen, he was residing in his abbey, which he had rarely quitted for the last three years. His bodily powers were nearly exhausted by the fatigues he had endured and the austerities he had practised, and he was calmly awaiting the moment of his dissolution. But, at the call of him whom he held it sin to disobey, he rallied his remaining strength, and recalling the vigour and animation of his younger days, and in full reliance on Him who alone giveth strength, prepared to set about the task enjoined him.

At Easter 1146, assembled at Vezelay, clergy, knights, and people, in such multitudes that no building, and even no street or square of the town, could contain them ; for the intelligence that the renowned abbot of Clairvaux was to be the preacher of a new crusade, had awakened the attention of all France. A wooden stage was erected on the declivity of a hill, between the town of Vezelay and

Ecouenne on the way to Auxerre, from which the preacher might address the people.

Bernard commenced by distributing to the king and his young queen, to the counts Thierry of Flanders and Henry of Blois, and others who had pledged themselves at Bourges, the crosses which had been sent them by the pope. He then ascended the stage, where the king took his place at his side. Pointing out to the people their youthful and pious monarch marked with the cross of salvation, he read aloud the letter of the pope: he commenced an exhortation, but suddenly arose on all sides a cry of *The cross! the cross!* and such numbers pressed forward to receive crosses from his hand, that he was obliged to scatter rather than distribute these sacred badges. Each day the number of those who took the vow increased, and to prepare crosses was Bernard's sole occupation while he remained at Vezelay. To gratify the desire of those who coveted something more peculiarly his own, he had to tear up his very garments and make crosses out of them. The number of the Crossed was greatly augmented by the reports which were spread every day of the miracles performed by the preacher. Ere the assembly broke up, the following spring was fixed on as the time for setting forth. Each of the Crossed returned home to make preparations, all feuds were reconciled, and brotherly love mutually promised.

In the interval, king Louis wrote to the kings of Hungary and Sicily, and to the Greek emperor, requesting a safe passage and an open market for the

soldiers of the cross in their dominions. Bernard himself wrote to the Greek emperor,* calling upon him to further the pious enterprise of the Latin Christians; and at the same time, with his usual prudence and knowledge of human nature, requesting him to confer the honour of knighthood on the young count of Champagne, the bearer of his and the king's letters.

Meantime, Bernard was not inactive: he visited various parts of France, and whither he could not go himself he sent his letters. The success of his exhortations was such, that he was able to write thus to the pope: "You have commanded, I have obeyed, and the authority of the director has fructified my obedience. For I have announced, and they are multiplied beyond number. The towns and castles are emptied, and seven women now hardly find one man whom they may lay hold on; so do widows everywhere remain, though their husbands are alive."

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS.

THE fervour thus excited for the cause of God soon took, as in the first Crusade, an ill direction; and

* "The earth," says he in this letter, "quakes and trembles because the King of Heaven has lost his land, the land on which his feet once stood. For it is nearly come to this, that the foes of the Lord break into his city, and even to that glorious tomb where the virgin-blossom of Mary was wrapt in linen and spices, and where the first and greatest flower on our earth rose up again." Are not the ideas here somewhat feudal?

those supposed enemies of the Saviour who were at hand, were soon marked out for slaughter by those who were arming in his cause. The Jews had been always hated for their obstinate rejection of Christianity; the enormous usury which they exacted, greatly contributed to augment the odium against them, which was increased still more by their receiving the sacred utensils of churches from the sacrilegious wretches who had stolen them, and converting them, as was believed, to the most abominable uses. Those who were in their debt were anxious to cancel their obligations by the death of the usurers; fanatics maintained that the time for destroying them from off the face of the earth was now come; even moderate men were disposed to think that it availed little to go to combat the enemies of Christ in a distant land, while his worst foes were left unpunished at home. Peter the Venerable of Clugni, a man of mild disposition, wrote to king Louis, giving it as his opinion, that though it was not lawful to deprive them of that life which God had given them as worse than death, they might be justly stripped of the wealth which they had acquired, not by honest industry, but by overreaching and oppressing the Christians, and that it might be employed in a manner acceptable to God, in the war against the Saracens. In Germany, a monk named Radulf, who had uncalled assumed the office of a preacher of the Cross, was exciting the people of the cities on the Rhine to the murder of the Jews. Numbers of the devoted race were massacred, and but for the humanity of

king Conrad, who gave them shelter in his towns and castles, and the compassion or love of gain of other princes, who, on receiving large sums of money, admitted them into their strong holds, few might have escaped the rage of the fanatics.

The real superiority of St. Bernard's character appears in a strong light on this occasion. Aloof from vulgar prejudices, he stood forward as the advocate of justice and mercy. He exerted all the powers of his eloquence; he reminded the fanatics how much more glorious would be the victory of the church over the Jews, if she converted them from their errors, than if she destroyed them with the edge of the sword; and that the church would not, as she did every Good Friday, pray to God from sunrise to sunset for their conversion, if she did not believe that God would yet take the veil from their hearts. He wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, to whose diocese Radulf belonged, reprobating in the strongest terms the conduct of that monk; and when he found he did not desist from exciting the people to murder and pillage, though it was now the end of autumn, he took a journey to Germany, and meeting Radulf at Mentz, he chid him severely; and though the people murmured loudly, and were only restrained by their respect for Bernard's character from raising a tumult in his favour, he obliged him to return to his convent.

JEWISH ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTION.

We are writing, not a history of the Crusades, but a view of the times during which they occurred, and of the principal characters who then appeared in the world. We therefore draw from writers of all countries such materials as are suited to that purpose: Greek, Latin and Arabic authorities appear in abundance, but the present is the only occasion on which a Hebrew authority is accessible. As it describes the present persecution with some minuteness, and gives the Jewish side of the picture, we will make some extracts from it.*

Having mentioned the fall of Edessa, and the preaching of the Crusade by Bernard, the author thus proceeds: —

"Moreover, this year was for the house of Jacob a time of trouble and of distress. It was empty and void and waste; the knees smote together; there was

* The book is named 'The Chronicles of the kings of France and the kings of the house of Ottoman, by the learned Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meïr the priest out of Spain, and in it are written all the wars and events and transactions which befell in the kingdoms of Edom and Ishmael since they became a people, and in it are related all the persecutions and migrations of the children of our people in the kingdoms of France and Spain and other countries. The Lord protect us!' It was printed at Venice in 1554, and at Amsterdam in 1730. There is no translation of it; we give the following extracts from Welkins' German version of a portion of it in his *History of the Crusades*.

pain in the loins, and their countenance gathered blackness.* For the priest Rudolf came to Germany to search through the land, and to mark with the warp and the woof† those who had bound themselves to go unto Jerusalem. This man meditated evil against the Jews who had been delivered from the former persecutions, and he said in his heart, 'It is now the time to speak and to act against the people, which is not a widow, to destroy, to strangle, and to extirpate them.' He went evermore about and cried in the name of his God, that they should go unto Jerusalem; and whithersoever he came he deceived the dogs (*i. e.* the Christians) by saying, 'Avenge our God on his enemies who are here amongst us, and then will we set forth.' When the Jews heard this, their heart became fearful; trembling seized them and anguish, like a woman in travail;‡ there remained no courage in them before the rage of the tyrant who was resolved to destroy them. Then cried they unto God in these words, 'Behold! O Lord, fifty years (so many as make a year of jubilee) are not yet past since our blood was spilt like water, to the glory of thy great and strong and fearful Name, in the day of the great slaughter.§ Wilt thou, then, O Lord, reject us for ever? and what wilt thou do for thy great Name's sake? Shall affliction come up one time after the other?' Then

* Nahum ii. 11.

† A contemptuous expression for the cross borne by the pilgrims.

‡ Psalm xlviii. 6. § At the time of the first crusade.

the Lord heard their sighing, and he thought on his covenant; he turned him unto them, and took mercy upon them, according to his great mercy. He sent after that Belial the abbot Bernard, out of Clairvaux, a city in France. This man preached after their fashion, and said, 'Go to! let us go up to Zion, to the grave of our Messiah; but take heed that ye speak only friendly with the Jews: whoso toucheth them, it is as if he touched the apple of Jesus' eye; for they are his bone and his flesh. My disciple Rudolf hath not spoken rightly, for it is said of them in the Psalms,* 'Slay them not, lest my people forget.'

"They hearkened unto his voice, for he was of great authority amongst them, and they ceased from the flame of their indignation, and did the Jews no evil, that they had resolved to do them. St. Bernard took no ransom from the Jews, for he had spoken good for Israel from his heart. I praise thee, O Lord, for thou hast been angry with me, but thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me, inasmuch as thou hast left a remnant of us on earth, and thou hast kept alive unto this day many of those who escaped. For had not the mercy of the Lord sent that priest, none of them would have escaped and been delivered to remain. Praised be He who redeemeth and saveth! Amen. In other lands the Jews gave their silver and their gold to save their lives, and refused nothing that was asked them. Thus did the Lord deliver them.

* Psalm lix. 11.

"But it came to pass in the month Elul, when the priest Rudolf (whom God pursue and dash to pieces!) came to Cologne, that the rabbi Simeon went out of the city to return to his own city of Tarbers. Then met him some wicked people of the Crossed, and pressed him to let himself be defiled with water;* but when he would not hearken unto them, there came a people of fierce countenance, who regarded not the person of the old,† and cut off his head and placed it on the top of a house, and his carcass remained lying as dung upon the open field, ‡ and there was no one to bury him. The Jews when they heard this were afraid, terrified beyond measure, and said: 'The days of visitation are come, the days of recompense are come, wrath has gone forth and the plague is begun, our days are fulfilled, our end is come. We say our hope is lost.'§ Moreover the people wept exceedingly. But the heads of the congregation betook them to the princes of the city and pleaded with them, whereby they so prevailed that the head of the righteous man and his corpse were given back to them, and they buried him in their sepulchres.

"In the same time was the Jewess Minah, as she went out of Spires, laid hold on, her ears were cut off and the thumbs of her hands, moreover she was ill entreated with blows, because she remained faithful to the Holy One her Creator. Thus was Judah humbled in these evil days.

* That is, be baptized.

† Deut. xxviii. 50. ‡ Jer. ix. 22.

§ Hos. ix. 7; Numbers xvi. 46; Lam. iv. 18; Ezech. xxxvii. 11.

"Now the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, lo! a mighty multitude of those who had sworn unto Baal* was coming after them, and they were afraid and in great anguish. Then they lifted up their eyes to the mountains, on which there were strong holds, and each besought his acquaintance, who had a tower or a castle, to let him abide in the clefts of the rocks and stones to keep himself there concealed till the wrath was past away. They left their houses after the feast of Tabernacles of the year 4907, (1147,) and betook them to the strong holds till the men of war were gone away. They then returned again unto their dwellings.

"The Jews who dwelt at Cologne gave the bishop all he demanded, and he put into their hands the very strong castle of Falkenburg, and he even made the watchmen go out of the castle, so that no stranger was there among the Jews; but they had given their houses and their goods in pledge to the bishop. When this was known, they were no longer persecuted: moreover, to the other Jews who had fled to other castles, they said nothing more from this day forth. The Lord's name be praised for evermore! Eleazar the Levite hath written all this in his narrative, for he was among those who were admitted into that castle, even among his mother's kindred, and he was then thirteen years old.† Moreover, the Jews who were in the lands of the king saved themselves

* That is, the Crusaders.

† Rabbi Joseph took his whole account of the persecution from this narrative.

each with his kindred and friends in the houses of his acquaintance, or in castles and strong holds, and remained there till the wrath was past away.

"At that time, while the Jews abode in the castle of Falkenburg, there dwelt on the hill beneath, a Jewish man who had two sons, of whom the one was named Abraham and the other Samuel. When these let themselves be induced by youth to go about the hill to see those who were going up the hill, a wicked man who met them slew them both, and then went his way. Two young men who came down the hill saw them lying dead, and they rent their clothes and gave their father tidings thereof. He wept and mourned many days for his sons, and he sought after, and at length he found, their murderer. As gifts had now been given to the bishop, he caused the eyes of the murderer to be put out, so that he died after three days: So, Lord, may all thine enemies perish!

"A people of fierce countenance arose against two Jews, the one named Isaac and the other Judah, who went out of Mentz in the time of the vintage and slew them. They then went away in disgrace, and came not back to their houses; but the prince (bishop) looked after all belonging to them.

"There was a man at Mentz strong and firm of hand, whose name was Samuel, the son of Isaac. The enemies fell upon this man on the road between Mentz and Worms, and slew him, but he slew three of them before he died.

"Three Hebrew men, who dwelt in the village of Bacharach, had fled to the castle with their wives

and children, and when they had remained there a long time they came down on the 5th day of the 3rd month. Then arose against them those who had sworn unto Baal, and pressed on them, and said unto them, 'Come with us that we may be one people,' but they hearkened not unto them, and would not defile themselves with the courtly water. The names of these men were Eliakim Nedori the son of Moses, Abraham the son of Samuel, Calonymus the son of Mordecai. When Calonymus spat upon their idol, they killed him. The two others hid themselves under the beds in the house, where they pierced them with their swords, and they were buried at Mentz. The Lord will behold and judge it. In these evil days no king gave the people of Israel justice, for the emperor Conrad was among those who had made a covenant to go up to Jerusalem.

"Many of the other Jews were verily compelled to defile themselves with water, but they afterwards turned them, as before, to the Holy One of Israel. But a Jewess of Aschaffenburg, named Gothilde, when they laid hold on her, steadily refused to defile herself, and was therefore drowned in the river for the Holy One her Creator. Remember her, my God, for good!

"In this time fled all the Jews in Germany, the one hither, the other thither, to the rocks and castles to save themselves from death. The congregation at Würtzburg alone remained in their dwellings and thought not on flight. On the 22nd day of the 12th month in the year 4907, some of the people of that

place came forward and accused the Jews of scandalous things, to have a pretext to fall on them. They said, 'We have found a Christian in the river whom ye have slain and cast into the water. But he is sanctified thereby, and lo, he performeth miracles!' Then arose the misbelievers and the rabble and slew the Jews, so that they left no gleanings of them. At that time Rabbi Isaac was slain over his book, and with him twenty-one souls. They gave twenty wounds to a Hebrew lad who was with him as a scholar, but he did not die till after an entire year was gone over. They led his sister into a house of their error (a church), and when she spat upon their idol, they beat and wounded her with fists and stones, so that she fainted away, and there was but a step between her and death. Then they beat and wounded the maiden with water, and laid her on a marble-stone, but she awoke not out of her sleep, and stirred neither hand nor foot; she thus craftily feigned till night, that they might think the ghost was departed from her and she was dead. About midnight came a heathen (Christian) woman and brought her into her house. For she took compassion of her and concealed her, that she might save her and restore her to her brother. The remainder of the Jews took refuge in the houses of their acquaintance, and betook themselves the next day to the castle of Stolpon, where they remained till the wrath was over. Praised be the Lord who gave unto them deliverance! In the morning the bishop commanded to collect the bodies, which had perished in the plague, and they laid

the least pieces, loins, and shoulders, and fingers of the hands, and every thing else of them which they found, on carriages, and buried them in his garden. Rabbi Rechakiah and his wife Judith bought this garden of him afterwards, and it is now the burial-place of the Jews.

"Moreover about one hundred and fifty men were slain in Bohemia. As many were slaughtered in Soli, because they refused to change their glory (the true God) for him who can do nought. When the destroyers arose suddenly against them in Carinthia, all the Jews assembled in a court-yard, and two valiant youths, the sons of one man, stood for their lives, and smote the foes so that they could do nought against them. But during the combat, the enemies came from behind into the midst of the court, and smote them all so that none escaped. Moreover, the great Rabbi Peter and the Rabbi Jacob were slain as they went out to bury a president.

"On the 7th day of the 3rd month, the misbelievers assembled together at Mido (Metz?) in France, and forced their way into the house of Rabbi Jacob. They robbed him of all his goods, and tore the book of the law of our God to pieces before his eyes. Then they laid hold on him and brought him out into the field, where they spake hard words unto him, and took counsel to slay him. They smote him on the head and said, 'Thou art a man of authority among the Israelites, wherefore we will avenge our God upon thee; as ye have done unto him, so will we visit it on thy head.' His soul had nearly come to rest, had not

the mercy of God, which never ceaseth, appeared for him. For God caused a powerful prince to pass over the field, and this man took the Rabbi, who called unto him for help, up on his horse, and spake unto the misbelievers saying, 'Leave him to me, that I may speak with him, peradventure he will let himself be persuaded; if not, I will give him back to you on the morrow.' They hearkened unto his voice, and thus, through the grace of God, was the Rabbi delivered out of their hands. The Lord's name be praised! Amen.

"We have not heard that in the remaining lands of France the Jews were slain or tortured; yet the people went down to the gates.* For king Louis commanded and caused to be proclaimed in all his realm, 'Whoso is disposed to go with me to Jerusalem to battle, he shall be free from all debts that he oweth to the Jews.' Thus was Israel heavily oppressed.

"The Lord delivered the Jews in England by the hand of king Henry (for a king's heart is in the hand of the Lord), and the Lord put it into his mind to deliver them. He took not even a shoe-latchet from them; the name of the Lord be praised for evermore! Amen. Moreover, those who in this year were forced to defile themselves, found mercy with a priest. He brought them, not for silver and not for gifts, unto France, where they abode till the rage of the misbelievers against them was allayed. They then returned unto the Lord. Remember, O my God! this priest for good!

* Judges v. 11.

"At length the men of war who had banded themselves, set forth, but most of them died on the way, by the sea, by pestilence and the sword, by hunger and thirst, and want of all things. None of them saw his home again, but the Jews in Germany came to the desired haven,* and dwelt again in their cities and houses as before, from the 15th day of the 5th month, in the year 4907, and abode there even unto this day."†

This narrative cannot fail to interest, as the view of their persecution given by the suffering party. From it, however, we learn, that there was not by any means so great a number of the Jews put to death as we might have supposed. It is also gratifying to observe in it the kind feeling that appears to have prevailed in many instances among the Christians towards their Jewish neighbours. We see that the latter constantly found an asylum with their acquaintances, and the conduct of the priest just mentioned is deserving of all praise; nor was the Jewish writer, as we may perceive, deficient in gratitude. Indeed, to the honour of human nature, men's better feelings exhibit themselves in the worst of times, and any one who has read the history of any religious persecution or civil war, will find numerous instances of humanity similar to what we have narrated in the case of the Jews.

* Psalm, cvii. 30.

† The style of this narrative justifies Sir W. Scott in his putting the language of Scripture into the mouths of the Jewish characters in Ivanhoe.

ST. BERNARD IN GERMANY.

THE preaching of Bernard at Worms and the other towns to which he came was as efficacious as it had been in France. Multitudes assumed the cross. But he found with sorrow that king Conrad, whom he met at Frankfort on the Maine, was immoveable in his resolution not to abandon his regal duties and lead an army to the East. Hopeless of success, he was about to return to Clairvaux, when at the entreaty of the bishop of Constance and other prelates, to which Conrad himself joined his request, he consented to stay and give his presence at the diet which was appointed to meet at Spires on the ensuing Christmas.

In the mean time, Bernard went from place to place exciting the pious ardour of the people: The miracles which he is said to have then performed, and of which we are about to give an account, are so circumstantially related by those who were on the spot, that, however we may deny the actual interference of the Deity, we are not justified in refusing all belief to the effect. The cures, we may observe, which he is said to have performed, were chiefly of contractions of limbs, gout, and similar diseases, and of madness, and the wonderful power of the imagination in all these cases is well known. Were it possible for us in these days of scepticism to form an adequate conception of the strong undoubting faith of the patient and of the Saint, we might per-

haps cease to be surprised, that when Bernard, in full confidence of the power with which he believed himself endowed, repeated the prayer of faith and laid his hand on the patient, whose entire soul was filled with belief of the effect about to take place, who was in imagination already cured—that the crippled limb should have stretched, the pangs of gout have ceased, or the supposed devil have departed. But when the blind are said to have been restored to sight, and the dumb endowed with speech, we may justly suspect deception, though we are not justified in asserting that the Saint was a party to it. We are further to consider that those who record these miracles, though they may have witnessed the immediate effect, probably never saw the patients any more, and knew not how soon their disorders may have returned. How different all this from the narrations in the New Testament!

While at Frankfort, Bernard performed numerous cures, and the press of the people at the cathedral was so great, that the king himself had to take off his cloak and carry the abbot on his shoulders through the throng. At every town on the road to Constance, the sick were restored to health by the prayer and imposition of hands of the holy man; and as it was then the custom in Germany to announce the performance of a miracle by the ringing of bells and the hymns of the people, the air everywhere resounded with the sound of bells and the hymn of "Christ have mercy upon us! (*Christ uns genade,*) Kyrie eleïson! All the Saints help us!"

The press was so great in the towns, that his companions, who could not get near, could only learn by those sounds when a miracle had been performed. At Constance, a poor blind boy, sent thither by the abbot of Reicherau, received his sight;* in all the towns thence to Strasburg, the sick were restored to health by the prayer of the abbot of Clairvaux. At every place at which he landed in his voyage, thence along the Rhine to Spires, he gave equal proofs of his sanctity and power. Knights and people everywhere assumed the cross with the same eagerness as in France; the clothes were frequently torn by the zealous off the back of the Saint to form crosses, and he had therefore constantly to procure himself new raiment.

A young knight named Henry, at Freyburg, who had taken the cross, and at whose house Bernard lodged, had a godless profligate squire: this squire not only refused to assume the cross himself, but mocked and derided his master for attending to the Saint. The knight took up a lame woman on his horse, to bring her to the holy man, and the squire instantly began to revile him for having to do with such a magician and deceiver. The knight turned and offered to give him his horse as a present, if the power of the holy abbot did not give that lame woman strength to walk. The squire laughed aloud,

* *Nulla sic ignoravimus sicut ea quæ Constantiæ facta sunt, quia nemo nostrum se turbis immiscere audebat.* Gaufridus De Mirac. S. Bern. p. 1185. The abbot Frowin also says, *Quæ Constantiæ facta sunt, præ tumultu pauci viderunt.*

but the miracle instantly took place, and the sceptic fell to the ground to all appearance dead. The knight informed the abbot of what had occurred, and he replied: "God forbid that I should be the cause of the death of a man," and he went, and having prayed in silence over him, bade him arise. The squire on recovering, averred to the by-standers that he had been dead and on his way to hell, and that he had only been saved by the prayer of the holy man. He took the cross immediately. The truth of this miracle was testified by the knight Henry, who after his return from the Holy Land, took the vows in the abbey of Clairvaux.

At Spires the concourse was great, and though Bernard spoke in French, a language not understood by the greater part of his auditors, his zeal and energy gained numbers for the sacred cause. Still the king and princes of the empire could not be induced to engage in a hazardous and doubtful expedition to the East, leaving their dominions at the mercy of their enemies, who stayed at home. Bernard in vain essayed all the powers of his eloquence; during two days in private conference with Conrad he could only bring him to say, that he would take the important matter into consideration.

Bernard, as his last resort, resolved to try the effect of surprise on the king. In the midst of the celebration of a solemn mass, he stopped short and commenced a solemn exhortation to the people, in which he spoke in bitter terms of those stony hearts which felt no pity for the afflicted church of Jerusalem.

Suddenly then directing his discourse to the king, who was already affected, and addressing him, not as a king but as a mere man, he recounted to him all that his Saviour had done and suffered for him, upbraided him with his ingratitude in not making a return for such favour, and reminded him of the day of doom and the heavy reckoning which God would exact for such ingratitude. Conrad could resist no longer; convinced that God spake by the mouth of Bernard, he interrupted him in the midst of his discourse, imploring forgiveness with tears, and eagerly demanding a cross. Bernard reached him a banner from the altar, the other princes hesitated no longer to take crosses from the hands of the holy abbot, and the triumph of the religious sentiment over worldly prudence was complete.

The return of Bernard to Clairvaux was equally signalized by miracles, and by the acquisition of champions in the cause of Christ. At Cologne the multitudes who crowded with their sick to the house where he lodged, were so great that they could not venture to open the door, and he stood at a window to which the sick were raised by a ladder. He was not given even time to sup, and so many of the sick were brought during the night that he had to pass it without sleep. Next day the archbishop took him to his palace that he might enjoy the needful repose. On the way thence to Clairvaux, the joyful tidings reached him that Welf duke of Bavaria and several of his knights had taken the cross. After a short stay at his abbey, to recruit his strength, the pious

abbot set forth for Etampes, whither king Louis had summoned for Septuagesima Sunday (Feb. 16.) his barons and prelates, to consult on the crusade, and to appoint a regent to govern the realm during his absence. He here related to the assemblage all that God had done by him in Germany.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS.

In spring the pope set out from Rome and came to France, to be a witness of the zeal of the pilgrims, and to animate them by his presence. At Dijon he was met by king Louis, who conducted him to St. Denis, and on the festival of Easter, to the great joy of the people, the supreme pontiff himself bore a part in the sacred ceremonies. The Master of the Temple, and one hundred and thirty of his knights, happening to be in Paris at that time, the pope and king honoured their chapter with their presence. Eugenius highly extolled the zeal of the French crusaders, and his approbation augmented their eagerness to set forth for the Holy Land.

Yet the zeal which was now manifested was of a very different character from that which had animated those who took arms at the call of Urban and Peter the Hermit. Then, knights, and nobles, and princes, pledged their lands and houses, and those who could not go themselves, contributed to equip those who were willing, but had not the means, to go and fight for their Saviour. Men offered themselves and their

wealth freely unto the Lord. Now the assumption of the cross was made a pretext for laying oppressive taxes on clergy and laity alike. Monasteries were forced to sell their sacred utensils to answer the heavy demands made on them by the king, and the clergy moreover bitterly complained of the enormous expenses to which they were put by the visit of the pope. The flame of enthusiasm was not to be kindled a second time; men knew now the real nature of an expedition to the East.

In Germany, too, the fervour excited by the preaching of Bernard, cooled in some measure. Henry the Lion duke of Saxony, Adolph count of Holstein, and several Saxon bishops, began to think that they might employ their arms equally well for the honour of God, in turning them against the heathen Vends,* and thus securing their own states; many pilgrims, who dreaded the toils and dangers of the road to Palestine, joined themselves to these more prudent crusaders. A large body of the pilgrims from the Rhine, Westphalia, and Bremen, preferred the passage by sea as less dangerous, and resolved to embark in the ports of the Netherlands.

MARCH OF THE GERMANS.

THE two kings had arranged that the German pilgrims should set out first, lest quarrels should arise,

* These were a Slavonian tribe, who occupied the southern shore of the Baltic, the modern Prussia.

or provisions fail on the way. The armies were to join at Constantinople, and then pass over to Asia. Accordingly, when spring, the usual season for the assembling of pilgrim-armies, was come, the Germans who had taken the cross repaired to Ratisbon, and there awaited the arrival of the king* and the princes. Conrad kept his Easter at Bamberg with old German magnificence, and on the day of St. George he assembled the princes of the empire at Nürnberg, and arranged measures with them for the government of the country and the maintenance of peace, during his absence. Having committed the administration of affairs to his son Henry, he rode in great state into the camp at Ratisbon, accompanied by his two brothers, Otto bishop of Frisingen and Henry duke of Bavaria, his nephew Frederic duke of Suabia, the old duke Welf, Odoacer marquis of Styria, Vladislas duke of Bohemia, the bishops of Passau, Basle, and Ratisbon, many other prelates and princes, and a numerous train of gallant knights.

Martial and splendid was the appearance of this first army which Germany sent to war in the cause of the Son of God. Few nobles or knights of name in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, remained behind; enmities were forgotten, and hereditary foes rode peacefully side by side. A forest of lances, from each of which fluttered a gay pennon, rose in the air; the gaudy hues of crests and surcoats delighted the eye,

* Gibbon and others very improperly style Conrad emperor. As he had not been to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the pope, he was only King of the Romans.

the polished helms and bucklers cast a dazzling light, and the earth trembled beneath the tramp of the mighty war steeds. Seventy thousand is said to have been the number of the German chivalry; they were accompanied by a large body of light-horse, and a huge multitude of foot-men followed. Many noble dames disguised themselves in men's attire and accompanied their husbands, resolved to share in the toils and the glories of the holy war. The usual attendants of a pilgrim-army, rabble and women of loose life, contributed to swell its number. From Ratisbon the army proceeded along the Danube, and on Ascension-day they reached the borders of Austria. They kept their Whitsuntide at Neustadt, and then entered the kingdom of Hungary.

Geisa, king of Hungary, readily granted a free passage and market; he even bestowed large gifts on the king to induce him to withhold his aid from Boris the son of king Kalmany, who claimed the throne to which Geisa had been freely elected. The German pilgrims reached the Greek frontiers without encountering any impediment.

The throne of Byzantium was occupied at this time by Manuel the son of the late emperor John, a prince of a jealous, suspicious character. Neither he nor his subjects could be induced to think that the real object of the western pilgrims could be any other than the overthrow of the Greek empire. Their zeal for the defence of the Holy Land they regarded as a mere pretence. Accordingly, when he learned that a new crusade, headed by the mon-

archs of France and Germany, was in preparation, Manuel hastened to put his towns in a state of defence, and he also sent ambassadors to each of the kings, to obtain assurances from them that they would undertake nothing against him or his dominions.

Some years before there had been a dispute between Manuel and Conrad, in consequence of the insolence of a Byzantine envoy, who said at the court of the latter, that the German king was ruling in the empire of his master. "He could not have angered me more," said Conrad, "if he had slain my son." This quarrel, however, was settled, and an alliance was entered into between the two monarchs against the Normans of Sicily, and Manuel espoused the sister of Conrad's queen.

The Greek ambassadors met the Germans on the confines of Hungary, and here Conrad and the princes exposed to them the causes of their crusade, and swore peace with the empire. Boats were then furnished to convey them over the Danube. By order of the emperor, persons appointed for that purpose counted the pilgrims as they passed. They reckoned up to 90,000, and then their patience failed them. The toilsome march from the Danube to Sardica over the mountains was peaceful and orderly. In the fruitful plains of Dadira strife began; the Greeks wished to gain a profit on the sale of their provisions, the poorer pilgrims attempted to take by force what they had not money to purchase. Conrad punished the offenders severely, but harmony could

not be restored, and at Philippopolis it came to an open engagement between the pilgrims and the Greeks. The occasion was as follows:

Owing to the prudence of the bishop of this place, an Italian by birth, so good an understanding prevailed, that the towns-people visited the camp without apprehension. A juggler, who carried about a pet snake which he had taught various tricks, went into a tavern in a suburb of the town inhabited by Latin Christians, where a party of German pilgrims were drinking. He sat down with them and drank, though he knew not their language. Presently to give them entertainment, he drew his snake out of his bosom, and set it on a cup on the floor to perform its tricks. The ignorant Germans, who had never seen anything of the kind, thought it was done by magic, and in the rage of their zeal laid hold on the unfortunate juggler and tore him to pieces. The people of the place fell on them to avenge him, the noise brought more Germans from the camp to the aid of their friends, and a furious combat took place. The governor of the town, who came with an unarmed train to re-establish peace, was driven back by the pilgrims. He returned with a body of archers, and slew or wounded several of them, they in revenge began to waste the surrounding country in a shocking manner, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the bishop succeeded in restoring peace.

The emperor hearing of the excesses committed by the pilgrims, sent an army composed of Pechenegans and Comans, under the command of Prosuch,

a man of Turkish origin, to march near the German army. These barbarians slew without mercy such of the pilgrims as straggled from the main body to plunder and get drunk: of this the princes took no heed; but a knight of high rank having fallen sick, and being left behind in a convent at Adrianople, whence he was removed with his property and servants into a private house, some villains, to have an opportunity of plunder, set fire to the house, and burned him and his attendants. When the duke of Suabia heard this, he returned in a great fury, seized some of the guilty parties and put them to death, then burned down the convent, and was with difficulty withheld from carrying his vengeance to greater lengths.

The emperor sent again to remind the German king and princes of their oath, and recommended that, to avoid the occasions of strife and enmity, they should, instead of coming to Constantinople, direct their course to the Hellespont. To this reasonable and unobjectionable request, Conrad would not accede, and the pilgrims proceeded towards the imperial city. On the eve of the nativity of the Virgin, they reached the fruitful plain of Choirobaccha, near the sea, and a short distance from Constantinople; and here they pitched their tents between the two streams by which it is watered, intending to remain and celebrate the approaching festival. They went to repose in joyful anticipation; at break of day some light clouds appeared, but they excited no apprehension in those who saw them; a soft gentle rain

soon began to fall, and then suddenly came on a tremendous storm of wind and rain; the wind howled, torrents poured from the sky; the streams, so placid the evening before, now roared and foamed, rising over their banks and inundating the plain. The tents were overturned, the pilgrims started up from their beds in terror, and saw with consternation destruction impending on them. Many of those who could not swim were drowned, others who could swim, were laid hold on and dragged down by those who could not. The loss in men, beasts of burden, provisions and property of all kind, was immense. The camp of the duke of Suabia, which was on the side of a hill, alone escaped the deluge; and thither repaired the remaining pilgrims, to celebrate the festival; and with mournful hearts, says the Bishop of Frisingen, they sang the usual hymn of *Rejoice ye Christians!* The Greeks saw in this calamity the judgment of God on perjury, and the more pious of the crusaders were disposed to impute it to the vices which prevailed in the pilgrim camp.

When recovered from this calamity, the German army advanced towards the imperial city. The inhabitants had conceived the most exaggerated ideas of the ferocity, and at the same time of the ignorance and stupidity, of the Germans; their mode of marching in separate corps, while a Greek army moved in one compact body, made them appear so feeble in the eyes of the Greek generals, that they had asked the emperor's permission to attack them on the road from Adrianople, but Manuel, more wise

or more timid, would not suffer them to be molested. When the pilgrims now came in sight, the people, in full assurance that they would make a wild irregular attack on the imperial troops, crowded to the walls to witness the rout of the barbarians. But their disappointment was great when they beheld the Germans cross the bridge over the Bathyssus, and peaceably take up their quarters in the suburb of Pera, where fifty years before, Godfrey of Bouillon, and the heroes of the first crusade, had abode.

The transactions which took place during the stay of the German pilgrims at Pera, were nearly a repetition of what had occurred at the time of the first crusade, with this difference, that in dignity and firmness of character, Conrad was far inferior to the gallant duke of Lorraine, and the Germans were far more unruly than the troops of that prince. Manuel employed language of scorn and defiance in his correspondence with the German king, which Alexius would not have been easily induced to venture on, in his dealings with Godfrey or Boemond; but these princes, it was well known, rarely menaced in vain, while Conrad had the fault of weak minds, who utter threats which they have not the power of executing. Thus, on the present occasion, when the time had been arranged for the passage of the pilgrims over to Asia, Conrad demanded for himself the imperial galley, and the other ships of the royal fleet for his troops, menacing in case of refusal to lay siege to Constantinople in the spring. Manuel, in a boastful epistle, positively refused, and Conrad

and his men passed over in such vessels as they could get. The German king too, from his want of firmness and decision of character, had little control over his troops, and was unable to maintain such strict discipline among them, as would have left the Greeks without excuse for their conduct towards them.

At length, to the joy of the Greeks, the Germans were all over in Asia. The pilgrims from Lorraine, who had come up with the Germans at Constantinople, but who, weary of their rudeness, wished to separate from them, asked permission to remain till the arrival of the French. This however was refused, and a stoppage in the supply of provisions soon obliged them also to pass over.

MARCH OF THE FRENCH CRUSADERS.

At Whitsuntide, the French chivalry, numerous and splendid as that of the Germans, assembled at Metz. Almost every name renowned in the history of France was there to be found. Robert of Perche, the king's brother, led thither his magnificent array; Amadeus of Turin, and his brother William of Montferrat, the king's uncle, headed their Italian vassals; the counts of Flanders, of Nevers, of Soissons, Ponthieu, Raucon, Varennes, and others, appeared in arms; the bishops of Noyon, Lizieux, Langres, and Arras, and the abbots of St. Pierre le Vif at Sens, and of St. Columba, headed their cavaliers; the barons Archembald of Bourbon, En-

guerrand of Coucy, Hugh of Lusignan, William of Courteney, Eberhard of Breteuil, and numerous other lords, displayed their banners in the cause of the Redeemer. The king fearing to leave behind him his gay young spouse, Eleanor, the heiress of Guienne and Poitou, had prevailed on her to take the cross, and encounter the perils and privations of pilgrimage. Her example was followed by many dames of gallant knights, and pomp and luxury attended the army of the Cross.

The pious monarch, ere he departed, visited all the hospitals in Paris, and bestowed on them his gifts and alms. Attended by only two servants, he went through the hospital of the lepers, visiting all the apartments, and speaking words of consolation to its unhappy inmates. He thence proceeded to St. Denis, where his mother, his wife, and a large number of the people, were waiting for him, and cast himself down in prayer before the bones of the blessed martyr. The pope and the abbot Suger opened the golden door of the altar, took out the silver shrine which contained them, and permitted the king to look on and kiss the sacred relics. While his mother and all present were weeping aloud, the king took from the altar the consecrated Oriflamme,* and the

* The Oriflamme (*Aurea flamma*) was the banner of the monastery of St. Denis. It was square, of red silk, suspended from a cross-bar on a gilded spear. It was carried in the wars, in which the monastery was engaged, by its *avoüés* or *advocates*, the counts of Vexin, and by the kings of France, when they became proprietors of that county, in all the wars they waged. It was not used after the time of Charles VI. See DUCANGE on JOINVILLE, *Dissert.* xviii.

pilgrim's staff and wallet, and received the benediction of the holy father. He then entered the dormitory of the monks; he meekly partook of their simple fare, and kissed each of them on the cheek as he was leaving the monastery.

The pilgrim-army, when joined by the king, proceeded without delay to Worms, where boats had been collected to convey them over the Rhine. Here the usual insolence of the French displayed itself, and a quarrel between them and the towns-people was terminated with some difficulty. They thence advanced by Würtsburg to Ratisbon, which the Germans had left two months before, and traced their steps by Neustadt into Hungary. The king and people of this country proved friendly: the bridges and boats left by the Germans facilitated their progress; but the greater quantity of their waggons and baggage obliged them to make shorter days' marches, and they lost many horses, and left much needless luggage behind them. At length they reached the confines of the Eastern empire.

Manuel's ambassadors had met king Louis at Ratisbon. The air and appearance of the Greeks in their tight silken garments, with their sleeves tucked up, which gave them the look of prize-fighters, excited the aversion of the free-born knights and prelates of France; and this aversion was increased by the servility and adulation of their manners. "When they had delivered their letters," says the historian, "they *stood* waiting for an answer, for they would not sit down till they were desired." "We saw there," he adds, "what we afterwards learned was

the Grecian custom, that when the lords sit, all the clients without distinction stand." The king was at first somewhat pleased by the flattery and encomiums contained in the imperial letters, and by the bland adulation of the envoys; but he soon learned to rate these courtesies at their true value. As they were reading aloud from the letters the praises of the king's exalted virtues, the bishop of Langres, who acted as interpreter, wearied out, said to them, "My dear brethren, do not talk so much of the royalty and majesty, the piety and the fame of our king; he knows all this right well himself, and we know it just as well as he does. Say what you really want to say briefly and quickly."

What Manuel required was, that they should swear not to take possession of any part of his dominions, and to give up to him any conquests they might make from the Turks. Some thought these demands reasonable enough; others asked why they should not keep what they might get? It was finally agreed that the two monarchs should settle these points between themselves; and a safe passage and provisions were promised the pilgrims, who, on their side, engaged to maintain peace and order on their march.

As they proceeded through the empire, they found that the Greeks had shut themselves up in their towns, and strong places, and would only deal with them from the walls. The supply thus to be obtained not being sufficient, the crusaders robbed and plundered; the barbarian troops of the emperor

hung on their flanks and rear, cutting off stragglers. The French, however, were more politic than the Germans: they behaved in general with courtesy to the Greeks, though they secretly despised and hated them. The king testified all due regard for the high-flown compliments of the emperor, and the queen made a suitable reply to the rhetorical epistle of the empress Irene. The Greeks now regarded the French as the least savage of the barbarians, and their arrival at Constantinople was looked forward to by the emperor without much apprehension. A futile attempt however was made to engage them to cross the Hellespont; but king Louis would take no road but that which had been trodden by the preceding armies of the Cross. In gallant show the French crusaders appeared before the walls of Byzantium. They had not suffered like the Germans; their baggage train was complete, and the Greeks gazed on them with admiration. Nothing so much excited their surprise as the number of ladies who accompanied the army: their rich dress and numerous attendants were beheld with exclamations of wonder; but their martial air was quite unseemly in the eyes of the timid and fastidious Greeks, and it shocked them beyond measure to see these Amazons riding astride like men. One lady, probably the queen, chiefly attracted their attention, by her stately mien, and the splendour of her attire; they compared her to the renowned Penthesilea, and as her robe was hemmed with gold, they named her Gold-foot.

THE FRENCH AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

To prove that his treatment of the Germans had been caused solely by their own rudeness and brutality, Manuel resolved to show every kind of respect to the French monarch. The Greek nobility and clergy advanced to meet him and invite him to the imperial residence, the emperor himself received him at the palace-gate, and led him into the royal apartments, where the two monarchs, who were nearly of an age, conversed a long time by the aid of interpreters. They parted as brothers, and the clergy and nobles then conducted king Louis to the residence assigned him in the royal park, named Philopation, a place in which the Germans had committed the most disgraceful ravages. The emperor consented that the French pilgrims should remain at Constantinople till the arrival of those who had separated from them at Worms and taken their route through Italy. They were also permitted to enter the city in small parties, and view the churches and other public edifices. The magnificence which they here beheld filled the pilgrims with amazement.

The harmony between the Greeks and the pilgrims, however, suffered some occasional interruption. The latter, when in want of wood for firing, scrupled not to cut down the olives and other fruit-trees, and even to pull down the houses outside of the town. King Louis punished some of the offenders with severity, cutting off their ears, hands, and feet, but their num-

ber was too great to allow his justice to extend to every case. The Greeks were satisfied of his good intentions, and the market continued to be well supplied. At length they began to think that their visitors were staying too long, and the usual mode of driving away pilgrim-armies was adopted. The supply of provisions was slackened, and in addition, false reports were spread of the brilliant successes which were attending the arms of the Germans. It was asserted that they had slain in a bloody battle fourteen thousand Turks; that the wealthy city of Iconium had been abandoned by the heathens and taken by the Germans without opposition; that, finally, the German monarch had already sent to invite the emperor to take possession of several cities which had submitted to his arms.

Improbable as these reports were, they produced the desired effect; the French became jealous of the fame acquired by the Germans, and longed to get a share of the booty. They were urgent with the king to depart, Louis yielded to their desires, the emperor cheerfully furnished ships, and on the sixteenth day after their arrival they quitted Constantinople and passed over to Asia.

It was perhaps fortunate for the Greek empire that the stay of the French pilgrims was not prolonged. On their way to Constantinople, several of the barons, incensed at the conduct of the Greeks, had proposed to the king to make the ill-treatment which some French pilgrims had received at Constantinople a pretext for war, to form an alliance with Roger count

of Sicily, who was actually at war with the empire, and in the spring to attack the capital on the land side, while the Sicilian galleys assailed it by sea. During the few days they were at Constantinople, the crusaders had remarked the ruinous state of its walls, and the facility of cutting off its supply of water. The bishop of Langres had even employed all his eloquence to justify an attack on the Greeks, on account of their heterodoxy, and their continued malice and treachery towards the crusaders; and others quoted the well-known declaration of Boemond, that till the Greek empire was in the hands of the Latins, there would be no security for the Holy Land, and showed that, with the capital, the whole empire must fall. On both occasions, however, the opinion of the better disposed and more honourable had prevailed, and, as we have seen, no acts of hostility were committed.

THE FRENCH IN ASIA.

WHILE the pilgrim army was lying on the shore of the Propontis, several wealthy Greek traders brought over such costly wares as the French were in the habit of purchasing. They ranged their glittering stalls along the strand; such of the crusaders as could afford it were buying, others who had no money gazed with a wistful eye on the treasures which were there displayed to view. At length, a Fleming, unable any longer to restrain his cupidity, seized an article of great value, and with a shout of triumph exhibited his prize. At this signal, others rushed

forward and grasped whatever had most caught their fancy. The booths and tables were thrown down and plundered, the owners fled and sought refuge on board of the ships, which had brought provisions, and the ships instantly put off and returned to the city, carrying away such of the pilgrims as happened to be in them at the time. These pilgrims when they came to the city were laid hold on, plundered, and then cast into prison.

King Louis had the Fleming immediately seized and hung on a gallows in view of the imperial city; he caused every thing that had been taken to be collected and restored to its owner, and sent envoys to exculpate himself before the emperor, and to request the liberation of the captive pilgrims and the re-opening of the market. These envoys, who were the bishop of Lizieux and the royal chancellor, received the most contemptuous treatment. From morn till evening, and even the greater part of the night, they had to wait in the palace vainly expecting admission to the imperial presence. No refreshments were offered them, and their only amusement was looking at the statues and other ornaments which decorated the stately halls. At length, about the third hour next morning, hungry, thirsty, and wearied, they were led before the emperor, who haughtily told them he would signify his will to the French king by his own ambassadors.

The proposals sent by the emperor were, that the French barons should take the oath of fealty to him, as the first crusaders had done to his grandfather; that the king should give in marriage to a kinsman

of the emperor a lady of the royal blood who was in the train of queen Eleanor; that the king and his principal barons should return to Constantinople, the barons to take the oath, the king to give and receive engagements of mutual amity. On these conditions, the emperor promised to furnish guides through Lesser Asia, and provisions during their march through the Greek territory.

To the first condition, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the fiery bishop of Langres, the barons acceded; to the second they showed great aversion, and as count Robert of Perche had secretly conveyed the lady to Nicomedia, the Greeks gave it up; the third, the emperor waved himself, appointing the interview to take place in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Strait. In the interview, after a vain attempt to induce king Louis to enter into an alliance with him against Roger of Sicily, Manuel engaged to furnish provisions and guides, and the two monarchs and their nobles parted on terms of the most perfect amity. The emperor having bestowed rich gifts on the Franks returned to his capital, and the pilgrims began to prepare for their journey.

PROGRESS OF THE GERMANS.

Meantime the Germans had advanced into Asia. When they reached Nicomedia they held a council to determine which of the three roads leading to Syria they should take. The shortest was that taken by the first crusaders which would lead them to Iconium

in twelve days, and thence to the confines of Antioch in five days more. But this route was both toilsome and dangerous, for a vigorous resistance was to be expected from the Turks, and as the season was far advanced, many of the steep mountains which were to be crossed were already covered with snow. The second route was along the sea-coast, where a plentiful supply of provisions might be calculated on, as there lay on it so many rich and populous towns; the only impediment to be apprehended was, the rising of the numerous rivers which empty themselves into the Mediterranean sea. The third road, by Philadelphia in Lydia, lay between the other two; it was shorter than the one and less dangerous than the other, but as it led through a very poor country it was only adapted for an army well supplied with necessaries of every kind.

A great difference of opinion prevailed in the council, and as unanimity could not be effected, the army divided; those who preferred the longer but safer way, set out for Ephesus, under the guidance of the bishop of Frisingen; while king Conrad, who, in his confidence in the strength of his army, resolved to march by Iconium, made preparations for the difficulties he had to encounter.

The bishop of Frisingen and his followers were grievously disappointed in their expectations of aid and friendship from the Greeks. At every town to which they came they were refused admittance; exorbitant prices were charged for the worst of provisions, which were let down to them by cords from

the walls, the pilgrims having previously sent up their money in the same manner. Not unfrequently a knavish Greek pocketed the money of a hungry pilgrim, and went off leaving him in vain expectation of the food for which he had paid. Lime was continually mixed with the flour which was sold them, and this abominable practice caused the death of numbers of the pilgrims. Every effort was made to induce the starving crusaders to break their vow, and enter the imperial service. Light troops constantly hovered about, and lying in wait in the narrow passes of the mountains, annoyed and cut them off. Their guides led them astray, the perfidious Governor of Laodicea had a part of them conducted to an ambush of the Turks, and shared the booty with the Infidels: but a small portion of this army reached the borders of Syria. The Latins throw the whole blame of these disasters on the emperor Manuel, who, they assert, had planned their destruction; and the Greek writers, probably thinking it to his praise, ascribe to him some of the preceding acts of perfidy. Perhaps the truth may be, that Manuel wished to enfeeble the crusaders, so that they might not be an over-match for the Turks, hoping to derive advantage from their mutual destruction, and had given directions to his governors to that effect, and these may have gone beyond their instructions.

A more disastrous journey awaited Conrad, and those who marched under his command. The Greek guides advised to lay in a sufficient stock of provi-

sions, as the way would lead for several days through a barren land; but the crusaders' means of payment ran short, and the quantity procured was insufficient. They had gone about half the way to Iconium, and had already been suffering hunger for the last three days, when they entered a narrow valley, shut in by lofty mountains, in the neighbourhood of Dorylæum, where the first crusaders had fought so gloriously against Kilij Arslàn and his Turks. Here, Conrad severely reproached and threatened the Greek guides, and during the night, these, either out of fear or gained over by the Turks, or, it may be, by the emperor's command, ran away and abandoned the crusaders. In the morning, when the flight of the guides was perceived, great consternation prevailed among the pilgrims, and, whilst they were consulting about what it were best to do, a cry was raised that there were Turks on the heights. To continue in their present position was impossible; whether they advanced or retreated they would have to force their way through the Turkish squadrons, which they now perceived had blocked up both ends of the valley. After long deliberation, it was resolved to issue at one side, to make their way through the mountains to Nicæa, and then to follow the army of the bishop of Frisingen along the coast.

The consequences of this injudicious plan were such as might have been expected. The Turks, who were commanded by Pyramus, the general of Massood, the sultan of Iconium, and who were in great numbers, hovered round them everywhere,

neither wood, nor river, nor mountain, yielded any security against them; and after several days of toil and suffering, but a tenth part of seventy thousand harnessed horse had escaped the Turkish arrows; the footmen were all slaughtered or made captive, the women, the children, and all the baggage, became the prey of the victors. No one could tell what was the exact cause of this calamity; it was a general panic which had deprived them of all counsel and made valour of no avail. King Conrad himself received two wounds from the Turkish arrows.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH.

The French army was encamped on the shores of the lake of Nicæa, when Frederic duke of Suabia, and some other nobles, came with the intelligence of the destruction of the German army. Louis and his barons testified the utmost grief at the tidings, and the king advanced in person to meet and console the afflicted monarch. In a council at which king Conrad assisted, it was decided that the French army should take the road to Philadelphia and Smyrna, and halt at Lopadium, till they were joined by the remnant of the Germans.

On their way to Lopadium, the unfortunate Germans were harassed without ceasing by the Greek light troops which hovered about them, and they were obliged to send to the French for aid; a body of French horse quickly dispersed the Greeks, and the Germans entered the camp of their allies. Here

the forlorn condition of the once brilliant German army drew tears from the eyes of the beholders, and augmented the rancour against the malignant Greeks, to whom all their misfortunes were imputed. Louis assigned the German monarch a place near where his own tent was pitched, and that the number of his troops might in some measure correspond with his dignity, he put under his command the pilgrims from Lorraine and Italy.

On leaving Lopadium, the pilgrims entered on a country barren and desert. The fear of famine immediately assailed them, and king Conrad sought, by describing the sufferings which his army had undergone, to induce Louis to quit this road and make for the sea-coast. The French monarch assented, and the march was changed; but though Demetria, the nearest town on the coast, was not more than half a day's journey distant, only a small portion of the army succeeded in finding the direct road to it; the remainder did not reach it till the third day, after enduring great losses and privations. Here, however, and at every other town to which they came, they were refused admittance, provisions were to be had only at an enormous price, and many of the poorer pilgrims, whose lot at home had always been servitude, were glad to take service with Greek masters as a security against famine.

The numerous rivers, few of which were spanned by bridges, which they met, increased the difficulties of the pilgrims. Even where their channels were nearly dry, the steepness of their banks rendered

the passage laborious. The pilgrims regarded as a miracle the circumstance (no uncommon one with mountain-streams) of three of these rivers having yielded them a free passage, and then all at once, having turned to furious torrents, roaring, foaming, and whirling along tremendous waves. Strange as it may appear, in consequence of these obstructions, no less a space of time than two months was consumed in the march from Lopadium to Ephesus, where courteous and flattering letters from the emperor and empress met king Conrad, inviting him to repair to Constantinople, to pass the winter there and recruit his strength before he exposed himself to new difficulties. The good feeling between the French and the Germans not having continued, the former having resumed their insolence, and the latter their rudeness, and as, moreover, he felt the inferiority of his situation in the army, Conrad willingly accepted the imperial invitation, and embarked at Ephesus with his princes and nobles. Owing, perhaps, to his present powerless condition, he met the kindest reception at the court of Byzantium. Plays, horse-races, and every other kind of amusement were employed to divert his melancholy, and lead away his mind from his misfortunes.

The French army, which reckoned sixty thousand harnessed knights, exclusive of the foot-men, women, and children, without attempting to enter Ephesus, which the inhabitants seemed disposed to defend against them, repaired on Christmas eve to a pleasant fertile valley, in its vicinity, to keep the festival of

the Nativity. On the fourth day after the festival, apprehensive of the rising of the streams, if they made any farther delay, they set forward, having previously laid in a plentiful supply of provisions. By a special providence, as it seemed to *them*, the weather now became clear and warm. Each day the knights gallantly encountered and drove off the Turkish horse, who now began to hover around the army, and their victories in these preludes of arms inspired them with confidence. The king himself shunned no danger, and on every occasion fought like a good and true knight; the Master of the Temple and his knights, who accompanied the army, signalized themselves above all others.

At length, the pilgrims beheld the fertile banks of the Mæander, renowned for its swans and for its winding course. Its opposite bank was occupied by the Turkish horse, prepared to dispute the passage, but the Christians having found a ford, made their way over it, with so little loss that they saw in it the hand of Heaven. Many even affirmed, that a horseman clad in white, and who was not seen before, or after that time, was the first to pass over, and to strike at the heathen.* The crusaders saw on this occasion, what they regarded as a convincing proof of a plot against them, between the Greeks and the Turks; for the governor of Antioch, on the Mæander, opened his gates to admit the flying infidels. On the third day the pilgrims came to the city of Laodicea, where they expected to obtain provisions, but

* Perhaps one of the Templars. See vol. i. p. 157, *note*.

the inhabitants, dreading their approach, had abandoned their houses and fled with their property to the mountains.

Nothing now remained for them but to cross, without loss of time, the mountains between Laodicea and Satalia. As they advanced, they everywhere beheld the mangled bodies of the Germans of the bishop of Frisingen's army, and they cursed the treachery of the perfidious Greeks. They soon learned that the united forces of the Greeks and Turks would assail, and, if possible, destroy them in the passes of the mountains. The king now enjoined on all the commanders, the strictest obedience to the orders which should be issued by himself and the council of war. The army soon drew nigh to a steep rocky ridge, forming the hither side of the valley, through which the river Lycus runs. As the declivity on the other side of the river was occupied by the enemy, the king gave orders that the army should halt at the foot of the mountain, and not commence the ascent till the following morning, when they would have the entire day before them, and would not run the risk of being attacked in the night, or in an unfavourable position. But Godfrey of Raucon and Amadeus of Turin, who with the royal banner led the van that day, having arrived by noon at the mountain, and finding the ascent practicable, went up; and then, enticed by the appearance of the fruitful valley beneath, they descended and encamped about the ninth hour. The other pilgrims as they came up followed their example, and began to ascend the

mountain. The path was soon choked up with men and beasts of burden; others then sought other paths, and began to ascend by ways which were hardly practicable for unencumbered men, much less for laden beasts. Men and beasts slipped, fell, and rolled down, overturning those who were below them. All was outcry, tumult, and confusion. The Turks, discovering how they were situated, crossed the valley, and began to shower arrows upon them. The king, who was in the rear, as soon as he heard of the danger of the pilgrims, hurried forward, with the barons who were about him, and fell on the Turks. Many a gallant knight was prostrated by the arrows of the infidels, but a part of the people and of the baggage was at last saved from them.

In this conflict, king Louis ran great risk of his life. Having lost his horse, he was closely pursued by some Turks; he climbed up through the roots of a tree to a rock, where his corslet defended him from their arrows; and when they attempted to climb up after him, he, with his good sword, cut off the hands and heads of several of them. Not knowing who he was, they left him, and when night came on he made his way to the army, who had been lamenting him as dead or taken. The pilgrims were clamorous for the punishment of the count of Raucon, but, as the king's uncle had been equally to blame, he escaped. The king, as far as he was able, made good the losses of the sufferers.

As the army was now so much reduced, and more frequent attacks were to be apprehended, the king

ordered such of the knights as still had good horses, to form themselves into a fraternity with the Templars, and to swear obedience to the commander, whom these knights should set over them. The Templars selected for this purpose a valiant and pious knight, named Gislebert, and he instantly chose out five hundred knights, who were to march on the front, rear, and flanks of the army, and be always ready to encounter the Turks. The king himself became a member of this association, and was always to be found in the post of danger. In consequence of this regulation, the pilgrims did not suffer much from the Turks; but famine still attended them; for the Greeks, out of fear and hatred, not merely deserted the towns and villages, but maliciously set fire to the pastures, to deprive even the horses of food. The flesh of their horses and asses, which they killed when they sank down exhausted with fatigue, was now the choicest diet of the crusaders, and they loudly lamented not having taken the road to Iconium, where, as they thought, they would only have had the open honourable warfare of the Turks to encounter; for they were in the habit of ascribing every misfortune that befell them to the treachery of the Greeks, leaving out of the account their own imprudence in venturing, in the middle of winter, to trust to chance for the supply of their wants, in a country where the inhabitants were afraid of them, ill disposed towards them, and, in many cases, possessing barely sufficient provisions for their own consumption.

At length, on the fifteenth day after their departure from Ephesus, the pilgrims reached Satalia, where they were met by an imperial envoy, with the usual reproaches, threats, and promises. He did not attempt to conceal the fact of his having come with the Turkish army; but the king and his nobles found themselves now too much in the power of the Greeks to take any notice of their treachery. The highest prices were demanded for bad provisions, and most of the crusaders had to part with the little that remained of their property. Still, though thus gaining by them, the Greeks were anxious for their departure, and the governor offered ships to convey them to Antioch. The king, on this as on other occasions, evinced a superstitious anxiety to tread in the steps of the first crusaders: but on the remonstrances of his barons, he agreed to accept the offer of the governor. The latter, however, now demanded no less than four marks of silver for each man, and would give so few ships, that only the principal persons could be conveyed in them, and the poorer pilgrims would thus be left without protection in the power of the Greeks. After a delay of five weeks, and the breaking out of a pestilence among the pilgrims, the king—as the land-journey would occupy forty days in a country full of rivers, and mostly in the hands of the infidels—deemed it best to proceed to Antioch by sea, and he made an agreement with the governor and the ambassador, by which they engaged for the sum of five hundred marks, to conduct the healthy pilgrims to Tarsus, and to take

care of the sick and feeble; and when they were sufficiently recovered to convey them by sea to Antioch. Louis then leaving the count of Flanders and the baron of Bourbon with some knights behind, to see to the execution of the treaty, embarked for Antioch, where he arrived after having encountered some of the usual perils of winter-navigation.

Hardly was the king gone when the Greeks broke all their engagements. They had assured him that the Turks would make no opposition to the execution of the agreement into which they had entered; but now they pretended that they could not obtain their consent to the passage of the pilgrims. They crammed the sick and healthy together in dark narrow buildings, and would give no food to those who had not money to purchase it, in consequence of which many perished of hunger; the plague, which raged among the pilgrims, also carried off great numbers of them, and their misery was extreme. The count of Flanders, and the baron of Bourbon, wearied out by the treachery of the Greeks, got on shipboard, and made sail for Antioch; and seven thousand of the pilgrims in their despair, thinking they could not be worse, set out, without guides or provisions, for Tarsus. But the Turkish squadrons were soon upon them, and after a short conflict they all were slain, or made captives.

The magnanimity and generosity of the valiant Turks after this engagement, in which they had broken the power of their once formidable foes, is

thus contrasted with the cowardice and cruelty of the Greeks, by one of the original historians of this crusade :—

" By the blood of these the thirst of the Turks was quenched, and the treachery of the Greeks converted to violence. For the former came back to see those who remained, and then gave large alms to the sick and poor; the Greeks forced the stronger pilgrims to serve them, and gave them blows for wages. Some of the Turks bought our coins of their comrades, and distributed them in handfuls among the poor, while the Greeks took it away from those who had any thing left. Shunning therefore their cruel companions in the faith, the pilgrims went safely among the infidels, who pitied them; and, as we have heard, more than 3000 young men accompanied them when they departed. Oh! pity, more cruel than any treachery! Giving bread they took away faith; though it is certain, that satisfied with service they did not force any one to deny his faith."

The Greeks of Satalia, however, did not escape punishment. The plague which the pilgrims had communicated to them rendered their town almost a desert, and if we may believe the not very credible assertion of the Latin historian just quoted, the emperor fined them heavily for having given a market and ships to the French king.

Of the two fine armies, which under the kings of France and Germany had set out for the East, but a slender portion reached the confines of Syria. They perished as in the first crusade by famine, disease,

the Turkish arrows, became slaves to the Greeks and Turks, or returned home poor and miserable without having performed their vow. Making all allowances for their own imprudence and other faults, the main cause of their sufferings were the treachery and cupidity of the Greeks, who, incapable of appreciating the religious motives which actuated the greater number of them, viewed their piety as only the mask assumed to cover their designs on the empire. Instead, therefore, of behaving towards them as brethren, they united with the infidels to destroy them, and thus, by their short-sighted policy, effected the destruction of two armies, whose forces, if unbroken, might have sufficed to annihilate the power of the Turks in Asia Minor, and secure the Greek empire for a long time. But they only augmented the hatred towards them which was become hereditary in the bosoms of the Latins; and a heavy day of reckoning at last came, a day which saw a Latin emperor seated on the throne of Byzantium!

STATE OF SYRIA.

It is time for us now to return to Syria, and view the condition of the Christian and Moslem states in that country.

The power of the Attabeg Noor-ed-deen now extended from the Tigris to the confines of the Christian states; he was married to the daughter of Anar, who ruled at Damascus in the name of its indolent

luxurious emir, and whose policy was entirely directed by the Attabeg, who had fixed his own residence at Aleppo, to be near the Franks, against whom all his projects were directed.

Noor-ed-deen was by far the most formidable foe the Christians had yet encountered. His extent of dominion far exceeded that of any of his predecessors, and, unlike them, he was a statesman and general as well as a warrior. The Turkish chiefs, with whom the Christians had hitherto fought, were doubtless brave as the knights of the West; but satisfied with gaining a victory, they sought not to make it the foundation of permanent advantages. Noor-ed-deen, on the contrary, was thoughtful and prudent, his eye ever fixed on the object before him, and the means of attaining it ever occupying his thoughts. In the day of battle none was more hardy and undaunted than he, and warriors gazed with admiration at his skill in martial exercises, and the grace and firmness with which he sat his horse as he rode. To his subjects he was a just and upright ruler, and he was always vigilant in providing for their security. Pious Moslems honoured in him the most pious and zealous performer of all the duties of religion, and the Christians themselves paid a willing homage to his virtues.

While the Turkish power was thus directed by one superior mind, that of the Christians was split and divided. The queen Melisenda who ruled at Jerusalem, though masculine and ambitious, was still but a woman, and she could not, like the Baldwins,

lead in person her knights to the field; the hot and passionate Raymond of Antioch was odious to the clergy, and the knights followed his banner with reluctance; Raymond of Tripolis, heedless of the common weal, thought only of enlarging his own possessions; and Joscelin, who had lost Edessa, was little anxious to repair his fault by valour in the field and prudence in the council.

The character of the barons and knights, still more than that of their princes, was calculated to inspire fears for the stability of the Frank dominion in the East. They united the habits and vices of Asia and Europe, the name of war was grating to their ears, and they sighed for peace with the Moslems, that they might not be disturbed in their luxurious enjoyments. The knights of the Temple and the Hospital, who were mostly of European birth, had alone escaped the contagion, and they still gallantly defended pilgrims, and did scathe to the heathen.

KING BALDWIN'S FIRST MILITARY EXPLOITS.

THE young king Baldwin III. was long excluded from the government by his ambitious mother. She, however, allowed him to lead the militia of the kingdom to the field. In the year 1145, the first year of the regency of queen Melisenda, tidings came that a castle which king Baldwin I. had built at the Water of Strife in the valley of Moses, had, through the treachery of the people of the valley, fallen into the

hands of the infidels. The militia of the kingdom was forthwith summoned to arms, and with the young king at their head, they marched through the valley of the Dead Sea, and over the rocky hills of the Stony Arabia to invest the castle in which the treacherous people of the valley had shut themselves up. The place was beleaguered and the artillery employed, but to little purpose. The Christian chiefs then hit on a surer way to success. The valley was covered by a dense wood of olive-trees, from which the inhabitants derived their chief support; these they began to cut down and burn, and soon the people in the fort sued for grace, covenanting only for their own forgiveness and the free egress of the Turkish garrison. To these conditions the king assented, and having furnished the fort with a garrison and provisions, he returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Two years afterwards, just at the time that the German pilgrims were setting out from Ratisbon, there came to Jerusalem a Turkish emir, named Túntash, who governed for the prince of Damascus the towns of Bozra and Sarkhod in the Hauran, offering to put them into the hands of the Christians, if they would protect him against Anar. As these were places of the utmost importance, the barons and prelates of the kingdom readily promised him the aid he required. Prayers for success were put up in all the churches, and at Pentecost the young king set out for Tiberias, taking with him the True Cross. Here the militia of the kingdom assembled, but the barons would not enter the territory of the prince

of Damascus, the truce with whom was not yet expired, without a regular declaration of war, and a whole month was consumed in unavailing negotiation. Anar thus got time to collect his forces and call upon Noor-ed-deen for aid. The barons meantime lent a willing ear to Anar's proposals, and were ready to abandon the cause of Tûntash and retire on being compensated for their expenses; but the people, when they learned what was going on, were filled with rage, and menaced the barons and knights if they did not instantly lead them to Bozra.

The army then crossed the bridge over the Jordan at the head of the lake of Tiberias, and entered on the region anciently called Trachonitis, from its numerous caverns; and having passed through the narrow glen of Roöb,* issued into the plain in which the great fair was annually held. Here they beheld such a multitude of the infidels in arms, that but for shame they would gladly have retraced their steps. They halted for the night to recruit their vigour, and with day set forward resolved to force their way to Bozra. They marched in dense squadrons, no one was allowed to quit his place for a moment. The enemies assailed them in flank and in front, the arrows fell on them like showers of hail, the heat of the weather was excessive, all the water to be procured was rendered pestiferous by the bodies of dead locusts which

* William of Tyre calls it *cavea Roöb*. It was either a narrow pass, as in the text, or possibly a long pervious cavern running through the mountain. The caverns in this region—the ancient land of Gilead—are immensely large and capacious.

lay in it, the knights had to alight from their horses and march with the foot-men to protect them, and even to carry such of them as were exhausted.

In the evening of this toilsome day, they reached a town named Adra, within twenty-five miles of Bozra. Here they hoped to obtain good water and repose, but the people of the place retired to their caverns, and as these communicated with the cisterns, when the Christians let down their buckets to draw water, those who were below cut the ropes, and thus disappointed their expectations.

At length, after a toilsome march, of which the difficulties encreased every hour, the army on the fourth day came in sight of the town of Bozra; but here the alarming intelligence awaited them, that Tûntash's wife had put both the town and the castle into the hands of Anar. The Christians now gave themselves up for lost, and some of the barons even secretly advised the king to mount the horse of John Goman, which was considered the fleetest in the army, and to fly in the night with the holy cross. The young monarch refused, and heroically resolved to share the fate of his warriors. That very night orders for retreat in the morning were given by the herald through the army. But with the appearance of day, the Christians saw the number of their enemies greatly augmented by the arrival of Anar and Noor-ed-deen with fresh troops, and they were filled with terror and dismal apprehensions. As they went along they were incessantly assailed on all sides by the squadrons of the Turkish horse. They gallantly repelled

their charges, and to deceive them as to their losses, they made the sick and wounded sit upright on their horses, holding drawn swords in their hands, and even bound the dead in a similar posture on the backs of horses and camels. The enemy on their side, when a strong wind began to blow, set fire to the bushes, the thistles, and the mustard-trees, which abound in that region, and the flame, the heat, and the smoke, caused more annoyance to the Christians than the flights of Turkish arrows. A miracle alone, as they believed, saved them from destruction. For, in their need, they turned them to the archbishop of Nazareth, who bore the holy cross, entreating him to deliver them, by prayer to God and by the power of the sacred cross, from the affliction which they were no longer able to endure. The bishop then raised the cross and held it towards the flames, praying earnestly to God for his faithful people. Suddenly the power of God was revealed! the wind changed on the instant, and blew the flames into the faces of the infidels, who, amazed at the prodigy, gave the Christians ease for some time.

The distress of the Christians was soon, however, as great as before, and the barons fearing that the people never could hold out, resolved to send an envoy to Anar, with a humble request for peace and an unmolested retreat. There was only one person in the army acquainted with the Arabic language; this was a knight, who was strongly suspected of having, on a former occasion, betrayed his Christian brethren to the infidels. Him, however, they resolved to send to Anar, and as, in giving him the

commission, they manifested some symptoms of distrust, he made the most solemn asseverations that their suspicions were without foundation; he even, it was asserted, called on God, and prayed that if he was guilty of what they charged him with, an arrow from the bow of an infidel might strike him before he reached the presence of Anar. He scarce had quitted the Christian ranks, when a Turkish arrow came whizzing, and stretched him lifeless on the plain.

As the Christians were engaged in a narrow pass, they suffered great annoyance from a troop of Arab horsemen, headed by the four sons of a distinguished emir, who hung continually on their flanks. A Saracenic horseman, in the suite of Tûntash, heedless or ignorant of the orders given, that no one should quit his place in the army, gave spurs to his horse, and levelling his lance, charged in among the Arabs. With his sword he smote one of the emir's sons, who fell dead on the spot; and he then turned his horse, and came back uninjured to the Christian host. The death of their young prince caused such confusion among the Arabs that they left their ranks, and collected about his body gazing on it, and lamenting aloud; meantime the Christians pursued their way unmolested through the pass, and emerged into the plain. The chiefs cheerfully pardoned the Saracen his breach of orders, which had proved so useful to the army.

As soon as the Christian army was off the territory of Damascus, Anar signified his wishes for a

renewal of amity. When, after several days of toil and danger, the Christians were come to the pass of Roöb, messengers came from him to say that at the other side of it he had provided for them an abundant supply of provisions. Fearful of treachery, the Christian leaders resolved not to go through that pass, but to take a circuitous route over the mountains, with the way through which no one in the army was acquainted. Heaven, however, as the archbishop of Tyre was assured by eye-witnesses, again interposed to save them. A man in armour, with a dress over it, the sleeves of which came down only to his elbows, mounted on a white horse, and bearing a red banner, suddenly appeared, and went before them. Each evening he was seen to vanish, with morning to return; he led them by the best and nearest ways, indicated the most commodious places for encampment, and where the most wholesome water was to be procured. Guided by this celestial envoy they reached in three days the town of Gadara, though in their march to Bozra they had spent five days in going from that place to the pass of Roöb. The following day they came to Tiberias, and thence proceeded to Jerusalem, where their arrival caused great joy, as their safety had been despaired of. They proudly but truly boasted that, since the Christians first won the Holy Land, so perilous an expedition had not been accomplished as this of theirs, or such valour, perseverance, and prudence displayed.

Tûntash, sometime after, imprudently venturing

to return to Damascus, without having obtained a pardon, was by order of Anar deprived of his sight, and then left to pass the remainder of his days in poverty and misery. The bishop of Tyre says he was lured to Damascus by Anar, and then blinded. The Arabian historian asserts that his return was voluntary, and that he was blinded on the complaint of his own brother, whom he had formerly treated in a similar manner.

THE PILGRIMS IN SYRIA.

King Louis, on reaching the territory of Antioch, was received with the utmost courtesy and hospitality by Raymond, its prince, who was uncle to queen Eleanor, being brother of the late count of Poitou. The motive of Raymond, however, was a selfish one; for he hoped by these marks of kindness to induce the king, ere he continued his journey to Jerusalem, to aid him with his forces in the reduction of Aleppo, Cæsarea, or some other of the adjacent towns. For the attainment of this object he relied much on the influence of his niece, and he omitted nothing to make their abode in Antioch agreeable to her, and the ladies of her suite. Eleanor, a lover of pleasure and flattery, was easily gained, and she did all in her power to induce Louis to prolong his stay; but the piety or the weakness of the king was proof alike against her entreaties, and the arguments and eloquence of Raymond. To worship at the tomb of Christ was in his eyes a

more important duty than to acquire additional bulwarks for the Christian dominions in Syria.

Deceived in his expectations, Raymond now sought to be avenged on Louis, by inciting his queen to seek a divorce on the plea of consanguinity. It is intimated by historians, that the queen, wearied of the coldness and jealousy of her husband, had already contemplated her future union with the gallant and pleasure-loving young duke of Normandy. At all events, the freedom of her manners while at Antioch caused much annoyance to her pious spouse. She treated various knights with a very culpable degree of familiarity, and she was strongly suspected of an acquaintance, by no means innocent, with a handsome young Turk. She therefore lent a willing ear to the malicious suggestions of the prince of Antioch, and it was even planned that he should take her by force, or by artifice, from the king, if he would not part from her willingly. This, however, coming to the knowledge of Louis, he departed secretly from Antioch, forcing his faithless spouse to accompany him.

On coming to Tripolis, Louis was received by the patriarch of Jerusalem, whom queen Melisenda had sent thither, to invite him to come to the holy city without delay; for she feared that the count of Tripolis might engage him in some project to his own advantage. The ardour, however, of Louis to visit the sacred places wanted no incentive, and no prospect of gain to himself or others could divert him from it.

The greater part of the pilgrims, who had chosen

the passage by sea, now arrived in the ports of Syria. They had aided king Alfonso of Portugal to take Lisbon from the Moors, and were anxious now, in imitation of their blessed Lord, to enter the holy city on Palm Sunday, and to celebrate there his crucifixion and resurrection. King Conrad, duke Welf, Frederic of Suabia, and the other German princes, who had spent the winter at Constantinople, also arrived with a Greek fleet in Easter week at Ptolemaïs. They thence proceeded to Jerusalem, where Conrad took up his abode in the mansion of the Templars; he visited all the holy places, and then travelled through and examined the whole of the kingdom. At the sea ports, he laboured by arguments and gifts to prevail on the knights and the able-bodied pilgrims, who having performed their vows were preparing to depart, to remain and aid in some enterprise against the heathens. From Ptolemaïs he sent on St. John's day to king Louis, who was now at Tyre, an invitation to meet him and concert measures for the protection of the Holy Land. The place of meeting was a pleasant grove of palm-trees, half-way between Tyre and Ptolemaïs, and at their interview, we are told, the two monarchs displayed a degree of pomp and magnificence highly displeasing to the eyes of pious persons, who recollected the great losses they had sustained and the misery their people had endured.

King Louis, who had appeared so anxious to make an early visit to the holy places, did not make his entry into Jerusalem till the end of June or beginning

of July. All the pilgrims who had resolved to stay and fight were now assembled there, and it only remained to decide in what quarter the attack should be made on the infidels. Conrad and several of his princes were for attempting to recover Edessa, as this had been the original object of the crusade, and thus restoring the limits of the Latin possessions in the East. The Syrian barons opposed this project on the grounds of its impracticability, and were for attacking Ascalon, the capture of which would open a way into Egypt, now in a state of the greatest confusion, or for endeavouring to obtain possession of Damascus, and thus prevent this important city from falling into the hands of Noor-ed-deen. As unanimity could not be obtained, it was agreed that the two kings, their princes, and barons, should go down to Ptolemaïs with the king, the patriarch, and barons of Jerusalem, and the masters of the two military orders, and there deliberate on this important affair. In the council held there, as king Conrad yielded to the arguments of the patriarch and the king of Jerusalem, Damascus was selected as the object of attack, and orders were issued for the troops to assemble at Tiberias.

SIEGE OF DAMASCUS.

In the burning month of July, the three kings led their troops in magnificent array to Tiberias. Joy and festivity prevailed in the Christian camp, and full of hope and confident of victory, the warriors,

accompanied by the patriarch, bearing the True Cross, set forth to win the ancient capital of Syria.

They took the road along which the apostle Paul, while yet a persecutor, had journeyed. At Paneas they halted and held a council of war. Having arranged their plans they again set forward, and having crossed mount Hermon and Antilibanus arrived at the village of Daria, whence the view extends over the fertile plain in which the city of Damascus stands. In that place, not far from the spot where, as tradition says, the apostle was struck with light from heaven, the princes arranged the order of their march. The van was assigned to the troops of Jerusalem, as the expedition was from the kingdom, and as they were best acquainted with the country; the French pilgrims, under their king, occupied the centre; king Conrad and his Germans took their station in the rear. In this order, the Christian army of ten thousand or twenty thousand horse, and sixty thousand foot (according to the Oriental historians) descended into the plain.

The city of Damascus, one of the most ancient in the world, lies in a fertile valley, bounded by Mount Casius on the north, and by Antilibanus on the west; the river Barradi (the Pharpar of Scripture,) flows through the valley westward of the town, and being divided into an infinite number of canals, diffuses verdure and fertility among the gardens, which extend for nearly two leagues between the city and the mountains. The spring of Tinja also pours its waters down the side of the mountain to

augment the verdure of the plain, and this union of water and verdure, so delicious to the senses of the Orientals, has led the Arabian geographers to regard Damascus as one of the three terrestrial paradises.* They style it the mole on the cheek of nature, the plumage of the peacock of paradise, the brilliant neck of the ring-dove, and the collar of beauty. Mohammed himself pronounced it thrice blessed, "for the angels of God," said he, "spread their wings over it." Numerous associations render it venerable in the eyes of Christians as well as Moslems. Mount Casius is said, by the latter, to have witnessed the murder of the righteous Abel; it was in this region that, according to tradition, the patriarch Abraham first saw the light, and the house of the mother of Jesus augments the sanctity of Damascus.

Against this stately city the Christian army was now approaching. The leaders had determined to attack it on the west side, where the possession of the gardens, and of the streams that flowed through them, would assure an abundance of refreshment. One broad road led through the gardens to the city, from which went off on either side numerous by-ways, which divided the gardens from each other, and gave the defenders the means of attack on an army advancing along the highway. Anar had placed behind the garden walls—which were built of large bricks baked in the sun—men armed with spears, which they thrust through small apertures in the

* The other two, are Granada in Spain, and Brusa at the foot of the Mysian Olympus in Lesser Asia, the first capital of the Ottomans.

walls, and pierced the Christians as they passed, while archers kept up an incessant discharge of arrows on them from the turrets and summer-houses. All the population of Damascus were under arms; he who had not sufficient strength to take the field, provided himself with a bow and arrows, and ascended the turret of his garden to do the enemy all the mischief in his power; the sheikhs and monks grasped swords and bows to share in the victory, or to die in the cause of Allah and the Prophet. The wells and cisterns had all been filled up, and all the provisions and forage removed from the adjacent villages.

The Christians succeeded, however, in making themselves masters of the gardens, but as all the canals had been destroyed, they found that they must also get possession of the bank of the river, to refresh themselves and their horses after the toils of the day. At an agreeable spot named Rabua, where is a cave in which, according to the tradition of the Moslems, the cradle of Jesus (upon whom be peace!) had lain, a severe conflict took place between them and the choicest of the Damascene troops, headed by Anar in person; with him was the emir Nejm-ed-deen (*Star of Religion*), Eyub (Job) the founder of a renowned dynasty, and his sons, Shahin-shah, and Salah-ed-deen (Saladin), afterwards so renowned, then but eleven years old. Shahin-shah fell bravely fighting near the gate of the city; the greatest valour was displayed by Anar, who repeatedly charged the boldest of the Christian warriors. In vain the

troops of Jerusalem, which first reached the river, sought to drive back the heathens; they gave not way before their swords and spears. At length king Conrad, impatient of delay, rushed with his cavalry through the French, and came to share in the fight. He and his knights, as was then frequently done by the German chivalry on such occasions, dismounted from their horses, and advanced on foot against the heathens. The blows given by the vigour of a German arm, fell not without effect, and both Christians and Moslems beheld with terror and amazement, king Conrad himself, with a huge blow of his sword, cut off the head and left shoulder and arm of an infidel, who was in full armour. The Moslems gave way, and retired before the prowess of the Germans, and the Christians remained in quiet possession of the bank of the river.

According to the Mohammedan writers, two distinguished ministers of their religion obtained the glory of martyrdom on this occasion, namely, the Sheikh Yûssuf, a native of Africa, and the Fakee Affendû-'l-abi. When Anar saw the former advancing to battle on foot, he went up to him and said, "Venerable Sheikh, this is not required of thee, we will fight in thy stead; thou hast no strength for the fight." But he replied, "I have sold, and I now buy, and will neither break the bargain myself, nor suffer it to be broken by others," alluding to a passage of the Korân, according to which God has purchased the souls and the goods of believers, and has assured them of paradise in return. As they

drew nigh to the Christians, he said to the Fakee, "Are those the Romans?"—"Yes," replied the other. "How long shall we fight against them?"—"As long as is determined in the secret council of God." They were both slain on the same spot, and it is said that the Sheikh appeared that very night to a learned imàm, and assured him that he had been admitted into the garden of Eden, and was among those who see God face to face.

Dismay and terror, meanwhile, prevailed in Damascus. Old men, women, and children, covered themselves with ashes, and implored of God to blot out the sins of the Mohammedan people. The Korân written with his own hand by the khalif Othman, was placed in the middle of the great mosk, and all the people assembled round the sacred volume, and fervently prayed to God for deliverance from the formidable host of the Christians. As these were now encamped on the Meidân,* all the streets leading thither were blocked up with large beams of timber, in order that if they should force their way into the city during the night, their progress might be retarded long enough to allow of the people escaping at the other side.

But the boldness of the Christians was not so great as the Damascenes in their terror apprehended. They contented themselves with cutting down the trees in the gardens and securing their camp with them. Enraged at beholding the destruction of their

* See vol. i. p. 363.

beautiful gardens, the Damascenes came forth in the morning to battle. The conflict lasted from morn till eve, and victory was with neither side. The priest who bore the holy cross was slain, an event which caused great confusion and apprehension among the Christians, and that night the Moslems boldly encamped in front of the fortified camp of the besiegers.

During the night, reinforcements poured into the Damascene camp. Next day both armies remained inactive, but bodies of Moslems still continued to arrive, and Anar now saw himself at the head of 130,000 combatants. On the fourth day of the siege, Anar led his troops up to the camp of the Christians and offered battle, but they would not come forth, and not venturing to attack their strongly fortified camp, he led his troops back to their quarters.

Envoys from Noor-ed-deen's brother, Seif-ed-deen, prince of Mosul, now came to the Christians, informing them that he was approaching at the head of 20,000 warriors, and requiring them, if they would escape his vengeance, to retire without delay from before Damascus. These were followed by envoys from Anar conveying the same intelligence, and in friendly terms representing to them how idle their hopes were of being able to resist such a power as would soon be arrayed against them. Anar was, in fact, in great perplexity, from which nothing seemed likely to relieve him but a speedy retreat of the Christians. When the danger first menaced him, he had sent to Seif-ed-deen demanding aid: this prince, who was then encamped

at Emesa, promised speedy succour, but required that his troops and a governor should be admitted into Damascus, promising to evacuate it as soon as the Christians had retired. Anar, however, knew that it was not likely that he would be able to resist the temptation of retaining so fair a possession as Damascus, and he therefore used every means in his power to induce the Christians to depart, so that he might have no need of aid from the prince of Mosul. The two western kings and their princes, however, as their camp was strong and no want of provisions was yet felt, relying on the aid of God, resolved, rather than run the risk of retreating in the presence of a numerous army, to win a victory or gain the martyr's crown of glory.

While they were thus disposed, it was represented to them by some of the Syrian barons that the better course would be to quit their present position, and remove to the other side of the town, where the wall was built of nothing but unburnt bricks, and as it was not defended by the river or any works it could be easily taken. The two kings, with their usual imprudence, gave ear to this treacherous advice, and quitting their strong camp, they crossed the Barradi; but soon they found themselves in a region where there was no water, no provisions, and nothing but empty houses and deserted villages. The Damascenes, meantime, had made themselves masters of the gardens, and closed up all the approaches to them with ponderous beams of timber. The kings farther ascertained that the condition of the walls had been

misrepresented to them, and that it would take much time and no little labour to effect a breach. No course now remained but a perilous and a disgraceful retreat.

That there was treachery in the advice to remove the camp, is a matter about which there can be little doubt. Three different accounts, all of which perhaps are true, are given of the motives of those who were guilty of it. It is said, in the first place, that the western monarchs had determined, in case of success, to bestow Damascus on the count of Flanders, and the jealousy of the Syrians made them prefer seeing it in the hands of the Mohammedans. Again, it is said, that the prince of Antioch, out of enmity to the king of France, engaged several of the other Syrian barons to assist in causing the enterprise to miscarry. Finally, we are told, that king Baldwin, and the knights of the Temple and Hospital, preferred the certain gain of a large sum of money, which was offered them by Anar, and the establishing a claim on the gratitude of the Moslems, to the dubious and insecure possession of a town so far distant from the limits of their dominions; and that the bargain of a retreat, for three vessels full of gold byzants, was concluded with Anar by the Templars, whose post was in the more advanced part of the camp. At all events, the pilgrims were the victims of treachery; but it is gratifying to learn that the traitors were no gainers, for the byzants on being examined proved to be nothing but copper gilt. Several pious and simple Christians believed that a

miracle had been wrought, to show God's abhorrence of treachery, and that the gold had been converted into copper by the divine power.

As a slight extenuation of the conduct of the Syrian Christians, it should be mentioned that the intelligence of the approach of the Turkish armies may have convinced them that it was no longer possible to take the town, and that they deemed it the wisest plan to get what they could, and force their obstinate European allies to a retreat.

In the middle of the night, the Christian army began their retreat, hoping to be a good distance before their departure was perceived. But ere the dawn appeared, the Damascene horsemen were upon them, slaughtering the pilgrims who, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, could make but a feeble resistance. Great was the booty too, in valuables of every kind, the ornaments and pride of the vain-glorious crusaders, which fell into the hands of the triumphant Moslems.

At length the baffled pilgrims found themselves in safety within the limits of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In the camp, before Damascus, the Syrian barons had solemnly promised the two kings to aid them faithfully in an attack on Ascalon; but though it was, as it would appear, their interest that this place should be taken, they could not bring themselves to fulfil their engagements. "We came," wrote king Conrad, to his friend the abbot of Corvey, "we came before Ascalon, true to our engagements, but found there scarcely any of the Latin Christians,

and having waited nearly eight days for them we came back, deceived by them a second time."

RETURN OF THE PILGRIMS.

THE German princes were now quite wearied out, and they resolved to quit the scene of disgrace and treachery. Duke Welf embarked at Ptolemaïs, and landing in Apulia, proceeded to his paternal possessions. King Conrad, his brother the bishop of Frisingen, the duke of Suabia, and several other princes, embarked at the same place, and sailed for Constantinople. On their arrival there, finding that the emperor and empress were at Thessalonica, they proceeded thither. Duke Frederic returned home through Bulgary and Hungary, and arrived in Suabia, by the Easter of the following year, (1149.) King Conrad went over land to Illyria, and then proceeded by sea to Pola, in Istria, and rode thence by Aquileia to Salzburg, where he kept his Pentecost with great pomp and magnificence, after the ancient fashion of the German monarchs.

The French king was not altogether so fortunate. He and several of his barons stayed the winter at Jerusalem, holding, however, little communication with the nobles of the kingdom. Having celebrated Easter, and witnessed the miracle of the lighting of the lamps in the Church of the Resurrection,* he went down to the sea-coast, and got on shipboard. He had not been long at sea, when the vessel which

* See Vol. i. p. 249.

he was in was captured by a Greek fleet, which, on account of the war between the emperor and Roger count of Sicily, was cruising in the Mediterranean. Regardless of his quality, the Greeks were taking him and his barons captives to the emperor, when the Sicilian admiral George, coming in sight, attacked the Greeks, and liberated the king of France. Louis, on reaching his home, found that peace and tranquillity had been preserved by the prudence and fidelity of the abbot Suger. He forthwith divorced his faithless queen, surrendering her rich inheritance, and she immediately espoused the gay young duke of Anjou, and thus this unfortunate crusade was in some measure the cause of the future wars between France and England.

ST. BERNARD AND THE ABBOT SUGER PLAN A NEW CRUSADE.

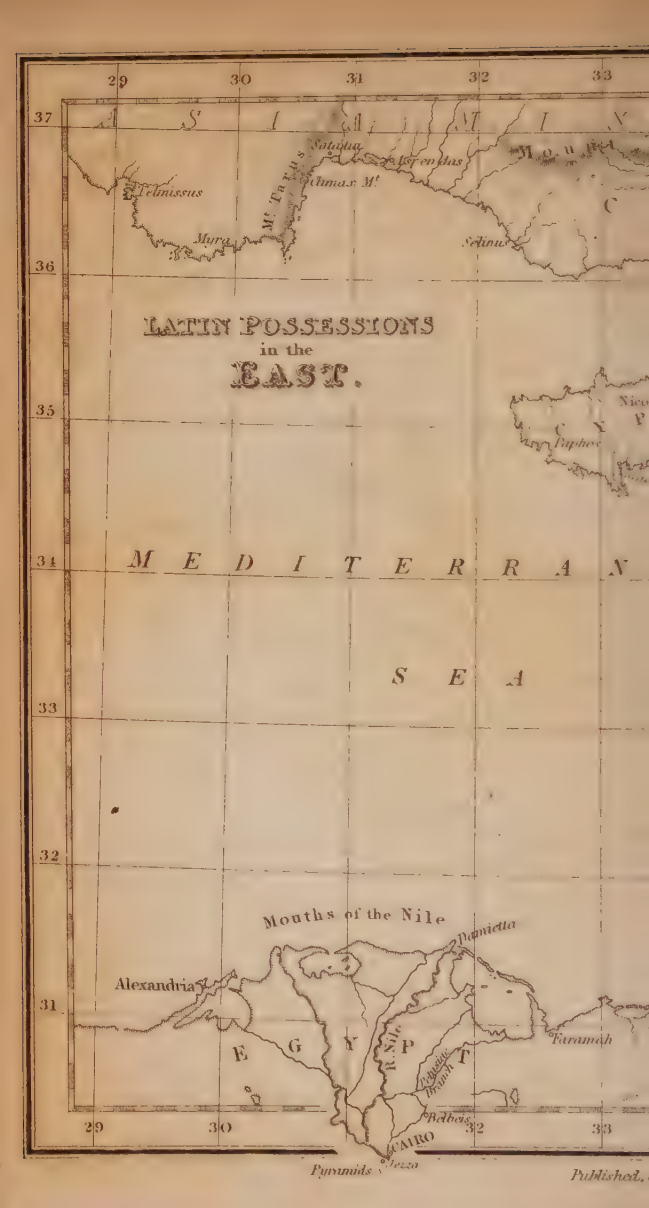
THE causes of the failure of the second crusade were the want of ability and vigour of character in the leaders, the vices and insubordination of the pilgrims, and the treachery of the Greeks, which last was in a great measure the result of the ill conduct of the Latins. Hence, though the loss of life was not so great in this as in the first crusade, it was feeble and inglorious in comparison with it. It produced no fruits; the warriors of France and Germany perished in vain, they had not even the consolation of having bravely fought and given a dearly purchased victory to the infidels.

Vast numbers of families in the West were now in mourning for their relatives who had perished in Asia. In this state of mind men seldom reason calmly, and, moreover, causes are almost always judged of by their effects. The abbot of Clairvaux, therefore, who had preached the crusade in the name of Heaven, was now by many regarded as a lying prophet, who had falsely asserted a call from Heaven, and by false miracles had lured the people to their destruction. On the other hand, his friends wrote him consoling letters, and he himself, in humble submission to the will of God, bore calmly the reproaches heaped upon him; seeing clearly the true causes of the failure of the crusade, he regarded and spoke of with horror the vices of those who had been on it, and he still firmly believed, that another expedition undertaken in piety and meek reliance on the aid of God would be attended with success.

He had now an auxiliary whom he had not expected. The abbot Suger, who had opposed the departure of king Louis and the chivalry of France for Asia, grieved and indignant at the disgrace which had fallen on the martial fame of the French nation, was zealous to efface it by a new crusade. He united heartily with Bernard in his efforts to excite the knights and people to new exertions, but the labours of the two abbots were in vain. Not alone the laity—the clergy, and even the pope, listened with indifference to their exhortations. At the council held at Chartres, on the third Sunday after Easter, in the year 1151, though Bernard and Suger had

written earnestly, pressing them to give their presence at it, but few of the prelates and abbots of France appeared. The crusade was resolved on, and Bernard invited to be its leader, an office which he accepted in full assurance that God, who, to punish the sins of those who were on it, had suffered the former one to miscarry, would the more abundantly bless one undertaken in a better spirit.

Still the ardour of the people was not to be excited, and Suger at last, old and feeble as he was, resolved with the funds of his abbey to raise an army and lead it himself to Asia. He had already remitted large sums to the Templars at Jerusalem for this purpose, when death surprised him in the midst of his preparations. In less than two years (in August 1153,) he was followed to the tomb by the abbot of Clairvaux, whose death, as it happened to fall on the same week with the capture of Ascalon by the Christians, was regarded by his friends as a convincing proof that God had been with him in his efforts for the defence of the Holy Land.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Damietta
Alexandria
Faramah
Rosetta
CAIRO
Pyramids
Published,

r. West Strand, 1834.

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TIME BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THE THIRD CRUSADE.

KING BALDWIN III.

After the departure of the kings of France and Germany, the Latin states in Asia remained exposed to the attacks of the able and powerful Mussulman princes of their vicinity, and cordial union and co-operation, which alone could have saved them, were prevented by the jealousies and dissensions of the princes and barons, who, with their adoption of Asiatic usages and vices, had retained their European habits of feud and rivalry. The king, though but twenty-one years of age, formed a noble exception to the general character. He was possessed of every royal virtue and accomplishment. The great Noor-ed-deen admired and respected his valour and conduct in war; his subjects praised his wisdom in council, his justice, disinterestedness, temperance, and chastity; the clergy extolled his sincere piety, and the oldest barons listened with deference to their young monarch as he expounded the laws and usages of the realm. He was, moreover, like his ancestors, large of stature and well-proportioned, and his long

yellow hair, which fell on his shoulders, augmented the dignity of his mien. But the duration of the kingdom of Jerusalem was now drawing to a close, and misfortune after misfortune, which no single arm could avert, came on the distracted and disunited realm of the Franks in Asia.

LOSSES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

IMMEDIATELY after the departure of the Western pilgrims, Anar assembled the militia of Damascus in Hauran, and uniting with them some Arab tribes and Turkman hordes, laid waste the land, till the Christians were forced to sue for peace. Noor-ed-deen invaded the territory of Antioch, and took several castles. Raymond, by falling on the Turks while reposing at noon, gave them a defeat; but Noor-ed-deen soon returned with a more numerous army, and gained a decisive victory near Bosra, and the imprudent Raymond venturing with a small party to attack the Turks between Apamea and Rugia, and being surrounded by their squadrons, and abandoned by his own men, fell valiantly fighting. His head and hands were sent to the khalif at Bagdad; his body was brought to Antioch, and interred in the church of St. Peter Noor-ed-deen laid waste the whole country to the sea, in whose waves he bathed, to denote his taking possession of it, and he then returned and forced Apamea to surrender. The king, when he learned the death of Raymond, hastened to Antioch; but he was unable

to recover the territory which had been lost, and an equitable peace was granted by Noor-ed-deen, to the no small joy of the Christians.

The prince of Iconium also, at this time, invaded the country about the Euphrates, and laid siege to Tellbasher, and Joscelin found it advisable to purchase a peace which he did not long enjoy. For having at one time defeated Noor-ed-deen, and taken his armour-bearer prisoner, he sent the armour to the prince of Iconium, the attabeg's father-in-law, saying that he hoped soon to send him a more splendid trophy. Noor-ed-deen vowed vengeance, and he promised a thousand pieces of gold to a Turkman horde, if they would bring him Joscelin dead or alive. The Turkmans watched the count closely, and finding him one day separated from his followers, on the road to Antioch, whither he was going at the call of the patriarch, they made him prisoner. He was conveyed to Aleppo, and he languished in captivity the remainder of his life, a period of nine years. Both Noor-ed-deen and the prince of Iconium ravaged and took the castles of Joscelin's land, and the king, who had come to Antioch, seeing the impossibility of defending it, readily agreed to cede it to the emperor Manuel, whose ambassador was then in that city, and who had troops on the frontiers. The king and the count of Tripolis assembled their cavalry, and proceeded to Tellbasher, to bring the countess and her children from it, and to collect the Latins, who were in it, and the other forts; and though harassed by the troops of Noor-ed-deen, they

accomplished their object. The Greeks were unable to maintain possession of the country, and before the end of the summer (1150) it obeyed the powerful attabeg.

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS MOTHER.

WHILE the remnant of the country of Edessa was thus ingloriously lost, the kingdom of Jerusalem was agitated by a contest between Baldwin and his mother. The greater part of the barons were dissatisfied at being under the rule of a woman, and the honours and power which she heaped upon her cousin Manasseh, whom she had made constable of the kingdom, augmented their discontent. The king himself was weary of the state of tutelage in which he was held by his mother, and by the advice of his barons, he desired to have the ceremony of his coronation performed, as he had now attained his twenty-first year. The queen could not venture to refuse; but the patriarch and other prudent men, who knew how strong her party was, counselled Baldwin to allow his mother to be crowned with him. The young monarch affected to be convinced, and the approaching festival of Easter was appointed for the joint coronation. But when the day came, he put off the ceremony, under a feigned pretext, and the next day had himself crowned alone in the church of the Resurrection, and exhibited himself to the people with the crown on his brows. But he soon saw himself obliged to come to an arrangement with the

queen, and in an assembly of the barons it was agreed that the kingdom should be equally divided between the mother and the son. The king, who was given his choice, took for himself Tyre and Ptolemaïs, with their districts, leaving to the queen Jerusalem and Neapolis. The barons, however, soon excited Baldwin to break the treaty; most of those who were subject to the queen came over to his side, and Melisenda, not thinking herself safe at Neapolis, where she resided, retired to Jerusalem. The king laid siege to Mirabel, a castle belonging to the constable Manasseh, took it, and forced Manasseh, who was in it, to take an oath to quit the kingdom, and never to return on that side of the sea. Having taken Neapolis, he advanced against Jerusalem; the queen, dubious of the fidelity of the citizens, shut herself up in the citadel. The patriarch, anxious to save the Holy City from being profaned by a contest between a mother and son, vainly sought to prevail on the king to leave his mother in the enjoyment of what had been assigned to her. Baldwin was unmoved; the citizens opened their gates to admit him; during several days he besieged the citadel, which was valiantly defended by the faithful subjects of the queen; a civil conflict polluted the streets of Jerusalem, and much Christian blood was shed. At length, another treaty was made, by which the queen agreed to surrender Jerusalem, and to be content with the possession of Neapolis alone.

The king soon afterwards assembled, at Tripolis, all the princes and barons, to take into consideration

the state of the realm. In this assembly every effort was made to induce the princess Constantia, of Antioch, whose hand the emperor Manuel was seeking for his son, to take some valiant Western noble for her husband. But Constantia, who had tasted the sweets of freedom, rejected all who were proposed to her, and the patriarch, in whose hands the administration of the government chiefly lay, encouraged her in her determination. The attempt was equally vain to reconcile Raymond of Tripolis and his wife, the queen's sister, and Melisenda, seeing the restoration of harmony hopeless, was taking her sister with her to Neapolis, when Raymond, who with some of his knights had accompanied the princess Constantia a part of the way to Antioch, was, as he entered the gate of Tripolis on his return, fallen on, and murdered by some of the Assassins. As his eldest son was but twelve years of age, the king sent immediately, inviting the countess to return, and thus the government of Tripolis also fell into the hands of a woman.

In this same year (1152) the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been for so many years free from external disturbance, was invaded by the Turks. Timurtash of Maradin, and his brothers, of the race of Orthok, thinking the present occasion favourable for making good their claims to it, collected an army, and came and encamped on the Mount of Olives. The greater part of the knights were gone to the defence of Neapolis, which was an open town; but those who remained, indignant at the profana-

tion of the holy places, sallied from the city, and attacked the heathens with such fury, that they forced them to instant flight; and as the knights hastened from Neapolis to join in the pursuit, and the way to the Jordan was through a hilly and rocky region, but few escaped from the Christian sword.

SIEGE OF ASCALON.

THIS success stimulated the king to attempt the conquest of Ascalon, the strongest city in Syria. Already had Gaza, to the south of it, been repaired and given to the Templars; the castles of the Christians now surrounded it, and its only communication with Egypt was by sea. All the vassals of the kingdom were summoned to the royal standard; the holy cross was borne by the patriarch Fulcher; the principal prelates and barons, the masters of the orders of the Temple and the Hospital, and several Western pilgrims of rank appeared in the royal army, and on the 24th January 1153, they encamped full of hope and confidence before the walls of Ascalon.

This city, called by the Orientals the Bride of Syria, lay on a sandy plain, and was built in a semicircular form on the sea-side; it was surrounded by strong walls, with four gates, three on the land-side, one opening to the sea, which afforded no anchorage, and was so stormy that it was only in serene weather that vessels could approach the town, a circumstance which added to its strength. Ascalon was abundantly supplied with provisions, numerous springs and

cisterns, many of which were within the walls, afforded it water, and a brave garrison, double the number of the Christian army, had the task of defending it.

Nothing decisive occurred in the first two months of the siege; each day the conflict was renewed, and at night the Saracens, to prevent an attack in the dark, displayed along the walls and towers such a number of glass lamps as turned the night into day. The Christians had neither engines nor materials to construct them, till the pilgrims, who arrived at Easter, furnished artists and ships to convey the requisite timber. A huge wooden tower soon approached the walls, and aided by several other machines it harassed the garrison. But an Egyptian fleet of seventy sail appeared and drove off the ships of the Christians, and reinforced the garrison, who now became more frequent and daring in their sallies, though the advantage was mostly on the side of the besiegers.

The siege had now continued nearly eight months, when one night the Saracens collected and set fire to, on the walls, a great pile of timber, and fed the flames with pitch and oil, in hopes of destroying the great wooden tower; but suddenly there blew a strong wind from the east which lasted the entire night, and the wall was so loosened by the heat, that the entire space between two towers fell down, shattering the wooden tower by its fall. The master of the Templars entered the breach at the head of four hundred of his knights; but anxious, it is said, to possess the whole of the booty, he would allow no one else to follow;

the Saracens had retired, thinking that the entire army had entered, but when they saw how few the Templars were, they rallied, surrounded them, slew them all, and hung their bodies on the walls.* The breach was immediately secured with huge beams of timber. This calamity almost determined the king and his vassals, already weary of the length of the siege and the losses incurred in it, to give it up; and in a council of war held on the third day afterwards, in the tent of the king before the holy cross, all but the patriarch, the prelates, the master of the Hospital and his knights, were for retiring: but the fervid eloquence of the patriarch turned them from these inglorious thoughts, and it was unanimously resolved to attack the town more vigorously than ever. The horns and trumpets summoned the warriors to arms, and they soon were standing in military array; the Saracens advanced boldly from the town to meet them, but they were speedily forced to yield before the valour of those who now vied with the early heroes of the Cross. To the joy and surprise of the Christians, envoys from the town shortly afterwards entered their camp, offering a surrender for a free passage with their portable property for the inhabitants, and a safe conduct to El-Arish; for the people were grown weary of the siege, and had applied in vain for aid to the khalif of Egypt, and even to Noor-

* This accusation against the Templars is made by William of Tyre and other writers of the time, yet perhaps it is not just, and the simple fact may be, that the garrison rallied and drove back the Christians who were entering.

ed-deen. The princes shed tears of joy, and raised their hands in gratitude to Heaven; the terms were readily granted, the royal banner was displayed on the loftiest tower of the town, and as it waved in redundant folds, the army saluted it with shouts of joy, and psalms of thanksgiving rose to the Lord. The town was evacuated in two days, and the Christian army then entered it. The quantity of provisions found in Ascalon was so great, that it contributed materially to alleviate the distress caused by the failure of the crop that year, and the surrounding country, which had been for the last fifty years uncultivated, was now partitioned into fiefs, and consecrated to agriculture. The king made a county of Ascalon for his brother Amalric, count of Joppa.

DAMASCUS OCCUPIED BY NOOR-ED-DEEN.

THE strength which the acquisition of Ascalon gave the kingdom of Jerusalem was counterbalanced by the loss of the alliance of Damascus. After the death of the brave Anar, the prince of that city, Mujir-ed-deen (*Understanding of religion*) Abek had taken the government into his own hands, but he was of so feeble a character that he was little more than a vassal to the Christians, to whom he paid an annual tribute. He thwarted all the plans of Noor-ed-deen for the relief of Ascalon, and by his subserviency to the Christians, at length so completely alienated the affections of his people, that a secret treaty was entered into by them with Noor-ed-deen, and when the attabeg appeared

with his army, the Western gate of the city was opened to admit him. Mujir-ed-deen fled to the citadel, and sent for help to the king of Jerusalem, but before aid could arrive he was forced to surrender, and he retired to Bagdad, where he passed the remainder of his days in obscurity. Noor-ed-deen now transferred his residence to Damascus, and as he, as well as the Christians, stood in need of repose, a truce was concluded, and during two years he continued to pay the tribute yielded by Mujir-ed-deen.

The princess Constantia of Antioch having at length resolved to take a husband, fixed her choice on Raynold of Chatillon, a French knight in the service of the king before Ascalon. Scarcely had Raynold taken the reins of government when he seized the venerable patriarch, who had expressed himself somewhat freely respecting the choice of Constantia, cast him into prison, and on a burning hot day of summer exposed him to the rays of the sun with his head smeared with honey, and prohibited under a most severe penalty any one to drive away the wasps and other noxious insects which tormented him. It was not without difficulty that the king procured the liberation of the patriarch, and the restitution of the property of which he and his friends had been robbed.

INSOLENCE OF THE HOSPITALLERS.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was visited (1155) with dearth and famine, and the contests of the Hospitallers with the prelates disturbed the peace of the realm. The popes had greatly favoured the military orders; they had granted them exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and the payment of tithes, and the more important privilege of having divine service celebrated and the sacraments administered by their chaplains, in places under interdict and excommunication. By means of these privileges, ecclesiastical discipline was rendered of little avail; as the Hospitallers and Templars had houses in almost every town, the excommunicated could always receive the sacraments in them, and in places under interdict the bells of the Hospital sounded, and all pious offerings were diverted to it. The patriarch of Jerusalem attempted to recover his rights, but he met with nothing but threats and insult; they erected a stately building in front of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and whenever the patriarch entered it to admonish the people, or to pronounce the absolution of their sins, the bells of the Hospital pealed forth so loud that no one could hear the words of the prelate. On one occasion the Hospitallers entered the church in arms and shot arrows at the people. The patriarch, though in his hundredth year, undertook with several of his prelates a journey to Rome to seek redress from the head of the Church, but they found

the sovereign pontiff and his council already gained by the gifts of their adversaries, and they returned in despair of obtaining any justice. The morals of the Templars were not purer than those of the rival order, and they disgraced themselves at this time by selling, for sixty thousand gold-pieces, to his enemies Nasir-ed-deen (*Victory of religion*) the son of the Egyptian vizier, who had fallen into their hands as he was fleeing from that country. The knights of the Temple looked on with calm indifference while he was shut up in an iron cage, and placed on a camel to be conveyed to Egypt, where he was put to death with the most cruel tortures.

Baldwin himself was led by his evil counsellors to commit an act, which sullies his otherwise fair fame, and which was blamed equally by Christian and by Moslem writers. He had (1157) given permission to some tribes of Arabs and Turkmans to pasture their numerous herds of horses, mules, and asses, in the woods near Paneas, and while, in reliance on the royal word, they were unarmed, and off their guard, the king suddenly attacked them, made a number of them prisoners, and carried off all their cattle. The misfortunes which befell the Christians in the course of this year, were regarded as a judgment on this deed of treachery. Noor-ed-deen was besieging Paneas, and had taken the town, when the king hastened to the relief of the citadel. The attabeg retired, and Baldwin having relieved the place, was returning home, attended only by his knights; Noor-ed-deen lay in ambush for them at the ford of

Jacob, on the Jordan, and while in the early morning the knights were gaily conversing as they rode along, the Turks suddenly fell upon them, slew several, and took most of the remainder prisoners; all the camp equipage, and even the king's chapel fell into their hands, and it was only by flight to the highlands that that prince escaped captivity. The master of the Templars, and many other distinguished knights, were among the prisoners who were conducted to Damascus, and paraded before the view of the people.

MILITARY OPERATIONS.

COUNT THIERRY of Flanders, who had shared in the last crusade, came now to the Holy Land for the third time; he was accompanied by his wife, Sibylla, the sister of queen Melisenda, and four hundred knights. The influence of this prince with the young king was considerable, and by his advice Baldwin sought a wife at the court of Byzantium. Manuel, who admired the brave king of Jerusalem, bestowed on him, with a dower of one hundred thousand gold pieces, Theodora, the daughter of his brother Isaac, a beautiful maiden of but thirteen years. Thierry, moreover, encouraged the Christian princes to undertake some enterprise against the heathen, and they assembled all their forces, and laid siege to Rugia; but as the garrison made an obstinate resistance, and Noor-ed-deen was approaching, the siege was given over by the advice of Ray-

nold, of Antioch, and the princes retired to that city, to consult on some new enterprise. Here, learning that Noor-ed-deen was dangerously ill, and that his dominions were falling into confusion, they resolved to lay siege to the town of Cæsarea, on the Orontes. Joined by Toros, prince of Cilicia, the troops marched from Antioch, and each prince took his station before the town. The resistance offered by the inhabitants was feeble; the gates were forced; the lower part of the town, which lay on the side of a hill, was taken; the castle could not long hold out, and the Christian princes began to dispute about whose the town should be. The count of Flanders, who longed for a settlement in the East, was urgent in his demand of it; the king was willing to give it to him; Raynold also declared his readiness to assent, provided Thierry would hold it as a fief of Antioch, in the diocese of whose patriarch it lay. But the count of Flanders would hold of no one but the king, and the contest grew so warm that the siege of the castle was given over, and the army returned to Antioch, having only gained the plunder of Cæsarea.

In the following year (1158) an Egyptian army wasted the land about Gaza and Ascalon, and a fleet swept the coast of Syria. Noor-ed-deen also prepared for war; his general Sheerkoo led the Turkmans into the territory of Sidon, and he himself laid siege to the hill-fort of Sueta. The king, ever active, marched against him, with the count of Flanders. Noor-ed-deen advanced to meet him; the

armies encountered early in the day, (July 15,) at the wooden bridge over the Jordan, where it issues from lake Tiberias. The holy cross, borne by the bishop of Tyre, infused confidence into the Christian warriors, and a glorious victory crowned their arms. The attabeg narrowly escaped captivity; he was for some time almost alone on a hill, and had the Christians known who he was, he must have fallen into their hands. The warriors sought not to derive advantage from their victory; the princes and barons returned to their castles, and count Thierry, after a two years' abode in the East, set out for home, leaving behind him his wife Sibylla, who had taken the veil in a convent at Bethany.

THE EMPEROR MANUEL IN CILICIA.

Both Franks and Turks were now thrown into alarm, by the intelligence that the emperor Manuel was approaching the borders of Syria, at the head of a numerous army. This warlike prince, who had raised the fame of the Grecian army, in both Europe and Asia, came with the intention of punishing Raynold, of Antioch, who, two years before, had in the midst of peace attacked the isle of Cyprus, which had always maintained the most friendly relations with the Latin states of Syria, wasted and ravaged it in a horrible manner, and dragged away its governor, the emperor's nephew, a prisoner. This deed of Raynold was viewed with abhorrence by all the Latin Christians, and the tidings of the approach

of the emperor filled him with dismay. There was another prince, also, against whom the arms of Manuel were directed. The Grecian governors of Cilicia, by taking advantage of the mountainous nature of the country, and the difficulties of the Greek empire, had made themselves in a great measure independent. Their territory, which was named Armenia,* as its rulers were of Armenian origin, extended from near Antioch, sixteen days' journey northwards, and two in breadth. It contained Tarsus, Mamistra, Marash, and several other towns. Toros, its present ruler, had cast off all allegiance; but he was unprepared to resist, and he fled to the mountains, while the emperor reduced the whole country to obedience.

Raynold, who was disliked by the king and all the princes, saw that he could look to none for aid in averting the storm, or for intercession to mitigate his punishment, and he resolved to seek the clemency of the emperor, in a manner calculated to reflect disgrace on the entire chivalry of the West. Taking with him the bishop of Laodicea, and some knights of his household, he repaired to Mamistra, where Manuel then lay. With bare head, feet, and arms, and halters about their necks, Raynold himself bearing in addition a naked sword, they proceeded through the streets to the imperial residence, and having obtained permission to appear before the emperor, Raynold presented him the sword, and stood awaiting his pleasure. King Baldwin, who

* This is the Armenia which is most usually spoken of in the histories and romances of the middle ages.

also came to Mamistra, was received with the highest honours, and the pardon of Toros was granted to his suit. Manuel proceeded thence to Antioch, where he attracted the admiration of the Frank knights, by the vigour and dexterity which he displayed in the tourney, and astonished them by the skill with which he set the arm of the king of Jerusalem, who had broken it by a fall at the chase. He sent costly presents to Noor-ed-deen, and negotiated with him a truce, and the liberation of his Christian captives; and then, to the equal joy of the attabeg, and the Latin princes, he set out on his return home, whither urgent affairs now summoned him.

DEATH OF BALDWIN III.

Baldwin, during the absence of Noor-ed-deen, in Asia Minor, ravaged the land of Damascus, and forced its emir, Eyub, to purchase a truce; but Raynold, of Antioch, was less fortunate in an incursion which he made into the hostile territory; for the governor of Aleppo waylaid him as he was returning with a large booty, and Raynold, after a short contest, was dragged a captive to that city. Boemond, the son of the late prince Raymond, was now of sufficient age to assume the government of Antioch, and the marriage of the emperor Manuel, with his sister Maria, the fairest maiden of her time,* contributed to augment his consideration.

* The imperial envoy, John Contostephanos, had first wooed for his master Melisenda, sister of the count of Tripolis. Bu

As the king, after delivering the princess to the Greek ambassadors, was engaged in repairing the iron bridge over the Orontes, he took, as was his custom at the approach of winter, some purgative medicine. Barak, the Saracen physician of the count of Tripolis, who prepared it, put, it was said, a slow poison into the pills which he gave him. Feeling himself unwell, the king left Antioch, and passed some months at Tripolis in hopes of recovery, but not perceiving any symptoms of amendment he proceeded homewards, and he died on the way at Berytus, in the thirty-third year of his age, (Feb. 10, 1162,) recommending with his last breath his brother Amalric, to the prelates and barons as his successor. The death of Baldwin was mourned by both Christians and Moslems; and Noor-ed-deen, when urged to take advantage of the confusion caused by it, nobly replied, "We must pity, and treat with humanity their well-founded grief, for they have lost a prince whose like the world does not now contain."

KING AMALRIC I.

AMALRIC, though several of the barons were adverse to him, was crowned by the patriarch on the eighth day after his brother's death. This prince

every time she went on shipboard to depart, she fell so sick that she had to be brought again on shore. The envoy alarmed at this went into the church, and opening a bible for a response, read: "The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy." He interpreted this that Melisenda was not born in lawful wedlock, and he then wooed Maria of Antioch.

was like Baldwin, valiant in war, and well skilled in the laws and usages of the realm; he was fond of reading, and curious of learning the manners and customs of distant countries, but he was cold in his manners, and his covetousness led him to make justice venal, and to oppress the Church by extortion, though he was exact in the performance of the external duties of religion, and in the payment of tithes. Yet he was blamed for his negligence in never seeking an account from his ministers and favourites of the money committed to them. Unlike Baldwin, whose youth alone had been stained by weakness with regard to women, Amalric was throughout life faithless to the marriage bed. At his coronation the clergy obliged him to consent to a divorce between him and his wife Agnes, daughter of count Joscelin, as being his second cousin, and he espoused Maria, the daughter of a nephew of the emperor Manuel. In person this prince was extremely fat, with breasts, we are told, hanging to his girdle like those of a woman; he was fair-haired like most of his predecessors; he was an enemy to gambling, but greatly devoted to the sport of hawking.

AFFAIRS OF EGYPT.

During the reign of this prince a total revolution took place in the realm of Egypt. The khalifs there had, like every royal family of the East, degenerated and sunk into sloth and insignificance. The whole power of the state had fallen into the hands of the

viziers, who had even presumed to take the proud title of Sultan; and while the khalif shut himself up in his harem, these ministers retained or lost the supreme power by the chance of arms or the disposition of the soldiery. Sultan Shawer held this high post at this time, but shortly afterwards (1163,) he was forced to yield to the superior power of Dargam, who had like himself risen from the condition of a slave. Shawer sought the aid of the powerful Noor-ed-deen, and this politic prince, aware of the importance of getting a footing in Egypt, ordered his general, Sheerkoo, to lead an army into that country: the emir obeyed without delay; Dargam gave him battle and defeated him; but that vizier having been shortly afterwards murdered by one of his own people, Shawer entered Cairo in triumph, and took a bloody vengeance on his enemies. Sheerkoo, with fifty thousand men, held possession of Belbeïs, under pretext of keeping Shawer to his agreement of giving to Noor-ed-deen a third of the net annual revenue of Egypt, but in reality with the design of making himself master of the country.

SHEERKOO AND SALADIN.

As Sheerkoo was on this occasion attended, and in some measure directed, by his nephew Saladin, afterwards so renowned, we will here give an account of the family from which he sprang. His father, Eyub (Job), was a Koordish warrior, who sought his living by his sword, and leaving his native mountains he

entered the service of the sultan of Bagdad: Beeroos, the governor of that city, intrusted him with the government of the town of Takreet on the Tigris, and here, in the year 1137, was born his son Joseph, afterwards named Saleh-ed-deen *(Salvation of Religion)*. When the attabeg Zenghi was flying, after the loss of a battle, in the wars consequent on the death of sultan Mahmood, Eyub furnished him with boats to cross the river, and when shortly afterwards Eyub's brother, Asad-ed-deen *(Lion of Religion)* Sheerkoo *(Mountain-Lion)*, had killed a judge in the heat of his passion, and Beeroos had in consequence driven the two brothers from Takreet, they were joyfully received and employed by Zenghi, who set Eyub over the town of Baalbek. After the death of the attabeg, Baalbek was besieged by the king of Damascus, the brothers were forced to surrender, and they passed into the service of that prince, who continued Eyub in his government. They fought at all times bravely in his wars, but their affections were with Noor-ed-deen, the son of Zenghi, to whom they facilitated the conquest of Damascus. Eyub was set by him over that city, and Sheerkoo over Rehabah and Emesa, and both were granted the privilege of seating themselves in his presence without waiting for permission. Sheerkoo is described as a little man, extremely fat, but valiant as a lion, and Noor-ed-deen reposed in him the utmost confidence. Of Saladin, his biographer says that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Arabians, especially in the knowledge of ancient his-

tory, well-instructed in the doctrines of Islam, and strict in the discharge of his religious duties. But he loved to pass his days in banquets and revelry, and was averse from all public affairs, and more especially from war. It was only the express command of the attabeg which had made him attend his uncle to Egypt.

THE CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT.

SHAWER, no longer dubious of the designs of Sheerkoo, sent to propose to the king of Jerusalem, who had been in alliance with Dargam, to enter into an alliance with him against Sheerkoo, on still more advantageous terms. Amalric at once consented, and the Christian army, under the constable Humphrey of Thoron, joined that of Shawer at Belbeïs, where during three months they blocked up the emir and his troops. But while the king, who had now joined the army, was confident of success, he was summoned home in consequence of the successes gained by Noor-ed-deen. Shawer besought him to remain a few days, and meantime he wrote to Sheerkoo, telling him how anxious he was for his safety, and setting before him how disadvantageous it would be for Islâm if Belbeïs should be taken by the Christians, as they would then probably insist on retaining it. Sheerkoo lent a willing ear to his representations, and it was agreed that he should evacuate Egypt.

An oriental historian relates as follows: While the

troops of Syria were going out of Belbeïs, Sheerkoo took his station in the rear with an iron club in his hand. A Frank lately come from the West went up to him and said, "Art thou not afraid lest the Egyptians and the Franks, regardless of their promises, should fall on thee now that they are all around thee?" "Would to God they did," said the emir, "thou wouldst see how I should receive them. For every one of my men whom they would kill, many would fall by my sword. Meantime Noor-ed-deen would attack their provinces; they are now enfeebled, their valiant men are dead, we would take their place and exterminate all that remain of them. Ah! if my soldiers had believed me, I should have made a sortie and opened my way by force, but they refused." The Frank making the sign of the Cross said, "We were astonished at what the Franks of Syria told of thee, and of the terror thou causest; I wonder at it no longer." He then retired.

Noor-ed-deen had seized the occasion of the absence of the king and the chief part of his forces in Egypt, to make a decisive attack on the Christian states. He assembled all the forces of Syria, and wrote to the princes of Mesopotamia to come to his aid. Fakr-ed-deen (*Glory of Religion*) prince of Hisn Khaïfa refused at first, saying that Noor-ed-deen wore himself out with fasting and prayer, and would ruin himself and his people. His councillors applauded his wisdom. Next morning Fakr-ed-deen gave his emirs orders to prepare to march. "What!" said some, "yesterday you were of one opi-

nion, and to-day you are of another!" "If I do not send my troops," said he, "I shall lose my dominions. Noor-ed-deen has written to the devotees and the recluses, he has told them of the ravages committed by the Franks, of the number of Moslems slain or made prisoners, he has invoked the aid of their prayers, and entreats them to rouse the Moslems to arms. They run all together, read Noor-ed-deen's letter, they shed tears, they curse me and revile me, so I must go and join him."

Noor-ed-deen having assembled his forces, advanced towards Harem. Boemond III. of Antioch; Joscelin III. of Edessa; Raymond of Tripolis; Kalaman, governor of Cilicia; and Toros the Armenian, collected their troops and set forth to engage him, confident of victory. Noor-ed-deen feigning a flight, drew them out of their order, and falling on them when they were surrounded by swamps, destroyed nearly the whole of them. The leaders all became his prisoners. He then made himself master of Harem and Paneas, and would have attacked Antioch, but that the king was in it at this time, and was applying at Constantinople for the investiture of it. Noor-ed-deen deemed it better policy to set Boemond at liberty, than let Antioch belong to the emperor or to the king of Jerusalem.

When the king with the aid of the count of Flanders, who was now for the fourth time in the Holy Land, had endeavoured to regulate its affairs and to accomplish the release of the captive princes and knights, he was recalled to the defence of Egypt.

The khalif of Bagdad had, at the instigation of Sheerkoo, called on all faithful Moslems to take arms against the anti-khalif of Egypt, and a numerous army led by Sheerkoo and Saladin, (who, however, was still adverse to war,) had entered the deserts of Arabia. King Amalric who knew that if once the Christian states were surrounded by the Moslems united under one head, their existence was at an end, posted himself at Cadesh Barnea to oppose them; but finding that they were proceeding more to the east he returned home, and having summoned all his vassals to Ascalon, advanced by forced marches to Belbeïs. Shawer, who as yet knew nothing of the designs of Sheerkoo, was suspicious of his allies, till learning that the emir was already at Attasi, he admitted the troops of Jerusalem, who marched along the Nile and posted themselves at Cairo on the right bank of the river. Sheerkoo, whose troops had suffered greatly by a storm in crossing the desert, soon entered Egypt, and before the allied army could arrive to impede him, he crossed the river and encamped at Jezza, by the Pyramids. Shawer, no longer dubious of his projects against himself and his master, hastened to make a new treaty with the king of Jerusalem, who pledged himself for four hundred thousand pieces of gold, not to quit Egypt till Sheerkoo had been driven out of it.

AMALRIC swore to this treaty, but as he required that the khalif should do the same, that pontiff was obliged to consent to grant a sight of his sacred person to Christians, a favour rarely conceded even to the True Believers. Hugh of Cæsarea and Jeffrey the Templar, were led by sultan Shawer to the Cazar or palace of the khalif. Language failed the envoys to describe all the wonders which they there beheld. The immense number and the strange manners and appearance of the negro guards astonished them; the various birds and quadrupeds, realising the arbitrary creations of poets and painters, amazed them; and the fountains and basins of water and other provisions of oriental luxury, delighted their senses. Shawer conducted them through long dusky passages into a splendid court; thence they were led into another, still more magnificent, and at last they reached an edifice more rich than any they had yet beheld; they here entered a hall whose magnificence surpassed any thing that they had a conception of; in the middle of it a silken curtain, richly embroidered with gold and pearls, hung down to the ground; before this the sultan prostrated himself three times. As he cast himself down the third time, he took off the sword which hung from his shoulder, the curtain drew up with amazing rapidity, and the Christians beheld seated on a golden throne with veiled face and splendid attire, the khalif Al-aded. The sultan knelt be-

fore the throne and kissed the khalif's feet, then told the purport of his coming; all present murmured discontent, but the khalif made a gracious reply, and reached, though not without repugnance, his covered hand to Hugh of Cæsarea. The knight declaring that in a treaty there should be nothing hid or concealed, but all be candid and open, insisted on the khalif giving him his naked hand, a token that he meant with them truly and sincerely. The descendant of the prophet, though with still greater reluctance, laid his bare hand in that of Hugh of Cæsarea, and repeated after him the words of the oath. The knights were then dismissed with rich presents, and departed by the way they had come.

SIEGE OF ALEXANDRIA.

When the two knights returned, it was too late in the day to attempt the passage of the river, and that very night Sheerkoo came, and encamped opposite the Christian army to prevent their passage. The two armies remained for more than a month in this position. At length the Christians collected all the boats they could get, and marching secretly by night down to where the isle of Mahalla divides the Nile, passed over to the island; but a sudden storm prevented their crossing the other arm of the river, and ere long Sheerkoo appeared and encamped over against them. He soon, however, broke up, and led his army towards Upper Egypt, and the Christians lost no time in crossing over, and pursuing him.

They came up with him at the narrow pass of Babain, (*Two gates*,) near the ruins of Hermopolis. In the conflicting accounts of historians, it is not easy to ascertain the relative numbers of the two armies; but it is probable that the Egypto-Christian army outnumbered that of the Turks, while only the Christian knights were engaged. By a stratagem Sheerkoo defeated the chivalry of Jerusalem; a hundred knights fell, and Hugh of Cæsarea, and several others, were made prisoners. The king led back the fugitives to Cairo, where the Christians were in such favour with the khalif, that the defence of the walls and towers was entrusted to them, and they had free access to the royal palace. Amalric encamped at the bridge of boats, which he had been making over the river.

Sheerkoo meantime led his Turks by the edge of the desert to Alexandria, which city opened her gates to him. Amalric followed without delay, encamped near it, and cut off the supply of provisions; the evils of famine were beginning to be felt, when Sheerkoo, entrusting the defence of the town to Saladin, issued from it by night, and directed his course to Upper Egypt. Amalric, joined by Shawer, and by ships from his own kingdom, pressed the siege; a tower was constructed with the masts of the ships; the city was continually assailed; the beautiful gardens round it were destroyed to the great grief of the citizens, whom Saladin found it difficult to keep in obedience. At length some of the captive knights came on the part of Sheerkoo, proposing peace, on

the conditions of the release of prisoners on both sides without ransom, and the evacuation of the country by both the Turks and the Christians. These terms were joyfully acceded to; the city opened her gates; the royal banner was displayed on the Pharus; friendly relations were established; Saladin took up his abode in the camp with the king, until his uncle was ready to leave Egypt, and a guard was assigned him, to prevent any insult being offered to him by the over-zealous. Shawer gave fifty thousand pieces of gold to Sheerkoo, who left the country, with the weakness of which he was now well acquainted, and which he hoped to conquer at some future period. The Christians, also richly rewarded by the khalif, returned triumphantly to Ascalon.

INVASION OF EGYPT.

Sultan Shawer, who had granted the Christians great advantages, adhered most faithfully to the treaty; but the ambition and avarice of Amalric suggested to him the ease of making a conquest of Egypt; he was farther stimulated by the master of the Hospitallers, a vain ambitious man, who had immersed the order in debt, by the number of soldiers he kept in pay, and who hoped to relieve himself by the plunder of Egypt, and the acquisition of Belbeïs, which was promised to him in case of success. An accession of force also tended to increase the confidence of the king; the count of Nevers

had just at this time brought a large corps of knights to the defence of the Holy Land, and that prince happening to die, his knights readily entered the service of Amalric. The emperor Manuel warmly approved of, and agreed to share in, the enterprise. But such barons and knights as had a due regard for honour and justice, openly condemned this flagrant breach of treaty, and the entire order of the Templars, either from conscientious motives, or because the plan had originated with the head of the rival order, refused to follow the king, who, in his impatience to rob and plunder, without waiting for his Greek auxiliaries, set out in the autumn of this year (1168), and after a siege of three days, took by storm Belbeïs, plundered and burned the town, massacred the inhabitants, and made prisoners the son and the nephew of Shawer. He then advanced against Cairo, which if attacked at once would probably have fallen; but the avarice of the king, who thought he should gain more by a large ransom for his prisoners, than would fall to his share in the plunder of the city, saved the residence of the khalif. A large sum was in effect offered by Shawer, part of it paid, hostages given for the remainder, and the prisoners had been released, when the Christians, who had retired at the desire of the vizier to some distance from Cairo, learned that Sheerkoo was approaching through the desert with a numerous army.

Shawer, who had only sought to gain time, had resolved on the hazardous expedient of calling on Noor-ed-deen for aid; the khalif had himself written

to the Turkish prince, enclosing, after the oriental fashion, some of the hair of his wives, to denote that they also were supplicants to him, and Noor-ed-deen resolved to send Sheerkoo with an army far superior in number to those which he had formerly led thither, and well supplied with money and all other necessaries. Saladin was with the utmost difficulty induced to attend his uncle. In the very presence of Noor-ed-deen, he said, "By God, if all Egypt was to become mine, I would not go thither again, for I suffered such privations in Alexandria, that I shall never forget them while I live." He was, however, obliged to obey, and Noor-ed-deen supplied him with money for his outfit. Often afterwards when speaking of it he said, "I went as if it were to death."

Amalric, on hearing of the approach of Sheerkoo, led his army back to Belbeïs, and advanced into the desert to meet him; but finding that he had taken another route, and learning the numbers of the Turkish host, he deemed it madness to think of opposing them; and he led home his knights covered with shame and infamy.

DEATH OF SULTAN SHAWER.

Sheerkoo, on his arrival at Cairo, was received with the greatest demonstrations of honour. The khalif presented him with a splendid dress, and other rich gifts. Each day Sultan Shawer, with sound of trumpet, clash of cymbals, and flying banners, after the manner of the viziers of Egypt, entered the camp

GATE OF VICTORY IN CAIRO.

of the Koordish emir, to hold consultation with him. But soon real or feigned causes of complaint against him arose; the Turks saw, or said they saw, symptoms of his intention not to keep his word, and they accused him of a design to poison the emirs at a banquet, to which he had invited them, and Saladin, and some other emirs, proposed to Sheerkoo to seize and punish him for his treachery. Sheerkoo refused his consent; but he went shortly afterwards on a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint of his religion, and when, during his absence, Shawer came as usual into the camp, Saladin and his confederates advanced with some armed men to meet him, and Saladin suddenly springing on him, dragged him from his horse. The cowardly Egyptians fled; Saladin sent instantly to inform his uncle of the capture of Shawer; and Sheerkoo, as was expected, applauded the deed. The khalif Adad, when he learned what had happened, was pusillanimous enough to send to demand the execution of the vizier; and when the head of Shawer was brought to him, he bestowed his office on Sheerkoo in terms of honour, such as had never before been used. The sons of Shawer speedily disappeared; but Sheerkoo enjoyed his dignity only two months. On his death, the khalif named Saladin his successor, deeming that as he was young, and of little authority, he could be more easily held in obedience than one of the more powerful emirs. Saladin, who certainly had contemplated no such elevation, felt or affected the utmost reluctance to accept the office; at length his resistance was over-

come, and he saw at his disposal the entire of the treasures and the resources of Egypt. His unbounded liberality, and the eloquence of his friend the Fakee Issa, gained the emirs who had been his competitors, and but one of them returned to the service of Noor-ed-deen.

The character of Saladin was now observed to undergo an entire change. Hitherto he had been impetuous and devoted to pleasure; he now became grave and serious, interdicted himself the use of wine, and all frivolous amusements, and devoted his whole attention to the duties of his office. He still styled himself but the servant of Noor-ed-deen, who, more generously than prudently, allowed at his request his father and family to go and join him in Egypt. In this, says his biographer Boha-ed-deen, Saladin also resembled his namesake, the patriarch, who brought his father and his brethren into Egypt.

Noor-ed-deen was however aware of the fault he had committed, in sending Sheerkoo a third time into Egypt, and he manifested the greatest uneasiness, when he heard of his having been appointed to the vizieriat of that country. The succession of Saladin disquieted him still more, and he now saw in prospect the future ruin of his family.

SIEGE OF DAMIETTA.

By their own guilt and folly the Christians now found themselves completely surrounded by the territories of the formidable Noor-ed-deen. Even the sea, from

which he had been formerly excluded, was now open to him, and it was with danger that vessels could convey pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their pressing embassies to the West for aid met with no attention, owing to the state of affairs there at this time, and the aversion to the Pullani on account of their treachery towards the kings of France and Germany in the last crusade.

At length the fleet and army promised by the emperor Manuel, arrived off the coast of Syria, and after a delay caused by the Latins, which gave Saladin time to prepare for defence, the siege of Damietta was resolved on. The troops of Greece and Jerusalem proceeded by land, preceded by the Grecian fleet, which took them across the Nile at Pharomia, and in two days they reached Damietta; but instead of attacking it at once, they waited for the arrival of the fleet, and when it came they found the entrance of the river impeded by a strong chain. They still deferred the assault, and Saladin threw a sufficient number of troops for its defence into the town. The conduct of the siege was a series of errors; a wooden tower which they built was directed against the strongest part of the walls, and it soon became useless. The Greeks, who had been furnished with money for three months only, began to experience the horrors of famine, and the Latins, so far from relieving them, separated their camp from theirs; the Turks, by means of a fire-ship, burned ten of their vessels; a report was spread that Noor-ed-deen was advancing to the aid of Saladin; the heavy rains

which now (it was November) began to fall, destroyed their stores and tents, and it was resolved to make peace and to retire. On the mere report of a peace, the Greeks, whose valour during the siege was unquestioned, set fire to their machines, and after having fruitlessly spent fifty days before Damietta, the Christians concluded a peace with Saladin, and returned to Jerusalem, whence the Grecian army proceeded home by land; the greater part of the fleet was destroyed on its return by a storm.

A dreadful earthquake, which levelled the towns and destroyed the people of Syria and Palestine, caused a cessation of war in the following year; but scarcely had the Christians recovered from the dejection produced by this calamity, when they learned that Saladin was on his march with a numerous army against the kingdom. Amalric hastened to Ascalon, and there he found that Saladin was besieging the fortress of Daroom, near Gaza. The king summoned his vassals to come to its relief, but few obeyed his call; and he had with him only two hundred and fifty knights and two thousand foot-men, when from the summit of a hill he beheld the numerous host of Saladin advancing. Terror seized the Christians at the sight of forty thousand heathens, but they closed their ranks, and though fiercely attacked, forced their way to the fortress. Saladin went on in the evening, and next morning appeared before Gaza; the inhabitants, who were mostly husbandmen, wished to take refuge in the citadel, as the walls were weak, but Milo de Plancy, who commanded there, refused

to admit them; and the Turks forcing their way into the city, massacred a number of the defenceless people. Saladin, whose only object at present was to disquiet the Christians, then led his troops back to Egypt, and the Christians were soon appalled by the tidings of his having taken the town of Ailah on the Red Sea, of which they had hitherto held possession.

POWER OF SALADIN.

SHORTLY afterwards, Adad, the Egyptian khalif, died, assassinated, if we are to believe the report of the Christians, by Saladin's own hand; of a natural death according to the Orientals.* The immense treasure of which Saladin now became possessed, he distributed with lavish generosity among his emirs and soldiers, in order to secure their attachment. In his conduct towards Noor-ed-deen, he acted with the greatest circumspection; for he offered to resign his office of vizier to his father Eyoob, but the old man contented himself with becoming treasurer under his son. The suspicions of Noor-ed-deen were first awakened after the death of the khalif, by the languor with which Saladin carried on the siege of the castle of Carac; for as this fortress commanded the road from Damascus to Egypt, Saladin deemed it more for his interest, that it should for the present remain in the hands of

* Though William of Tyre is among those who accuse Saladin of this crime, it is an exceedingly improbable one. It was a thing repugnant to his nature, and it was in no way for his interest: why then would he commit it?

the Christians, lest Noor-ed-deen might make his appearance on the banks of the Nile. The attabeg menaced, Saladin was about to return a defiance, when the prudence of his father suggested the expediency of mildness and humility; and shortly afterwards the death of Noor-ed-deen delivered Saladin from the guilt of taking arms against his lord and benefactor.

VISIT OF AMALRIC TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE talent and activity displayed by the present ruler of Egypt excited the utmost alarm in the Christians, who could not conceal from themselves, that by their perjury and breach of faith they had mainly contributed to his elevation; and they consulted long and anxiously on the means of averting the gathering storm. It was proposed to renew their application to the Western princes, but this course was abandoned as desperate, and their hopes centered in the emperor Manuel, whom the king, contrary to the remonstrances of his barons, determined to visit in person, and in the beginning of March 1171, he set out with a fleet of ten gallies, attended by the bishop of Ptolemaïs, and Garmund of Tiberias, and four other barons. The late master of the Templars, Philip of Naploos, proceeded by land to announce his approach.

The reception of Amalric was the most splendid that the court of Byzantium had ever given to any foreign prince; his father-in-law, the Protosebastos,

with a magnificent retinue, awaited him at Gallipolis; he was allowed, when he arrived at the imperial city, to land at the flight of marble steps appropriated to the emperor; through rows of richly attired courtiers and officers he and his barons proceeded to a splendid hall of the palace, from whose roof depended a magnificent curtain, behind which some of the chief personages led the king, and Manuel, who was there seated on his golden throne, rose to salute him. The curtain drew up and displayed to the Franks the emperor on his throne, and their king on a lower seat beside him, and they drew near and were admitted to the kiss of peace. Each day the strangers were regaled with the exhibitions of the theatre and the circus; the dances of maidens, and the ravishing tones of vocal and instrumental music; the churches and their treasures were opened to them, and they enjoyed the felicity of contemplating the cross, nails, spear, sponge, reed, crown of thorns, fine linen, and sandals, which had been hallowed by the contact of the Son of God. Manuel entered readily into the proposed alliance against the heathen, notwithstanding the conduct of the Franks at Damietta, and promised a powerful co-operation. Amalric and his suite returned laden with presents, and soothed by courtesy and attentions.

But the promised succours never appeared in the Holy Land; and in Cilicia, on the death of Toros the ally of the Franks, his brother Malich, who had hitherto lived by robbery, drove, with the aid of the Turks, his nephew Thomas from the government,

and broke off all friendship with the Latins, and seized on all the property he could find of the Templars, to whose order he had formerly belonged. The Latin princes united their forces and invaded his territory, but, owing to the nature of the land, they could only burn the villages and corn-fields; and the intelligence that Noor-ed-deen was besieging the castle of Carac or Petra in Arabia, soon recalled them from Cilicia. The attabeg retired on hearing of the return of the king. A few months afterwards Saladin assailed Montroyal, but at the appearance of Amalric and his chivalry, he departed, after wasting the land. He again returned after some months; the king occupied a hill near Carmel, not far from the Dead Sea, once the dwelling of the churlish Nabal; but Saladin gave no opportunity for fighting, and he carried his booty to Egypt.

EMBASSY OF THE ASSASSINS.

At this time (1172,) there came an embassy from Sinan, the Dai-el-kebir or chief of the Assassins of Mount Lebanon, with offers of himself and his people embracing the Christian religion, on condition of the Templars remitting the tribute of two thousand gold pieces paid them by those of his subjects who resided near their castles. It was in all probability worldly prudence that actuated Sinan, but the king, anxious to make so important a proselyte, enquired not into his motives; the treaty was concluded, Amalric engaging to reimburse the Templars out

of his own revenues; but as the envoy returned, accompanied by an officer of the king's, and had just entered on the territory of the Assassins, he was fallen on from an ambush, and slain by a Templar named Walter du Mesnil. The king was incensed at this act of treachery; he assembled a council of his barons at Sidon, and sent two knights to demand the murderer from Odo of St. Amand, the master of the Temple. The haughty master replied that he had already imposed a penance on brother Walter, and had ordered him to repair to Rome and await the farther pleasure of the pope, that meantime he, in the name of the Holy Father, forbade any violence against the said brother. The king however, with the advice of his barons, had the assassin dragged from the Temple-house, and thrown into prison at Tyre. The news of the death of the attabeg Noor-ed-deen, who died (May 1173) as he was preparing to march against Saladin, aroused the king, who did not emulate the magnanimity displayed by the son of Zenghi on the death of Baldwin III, and he gathered his forces and laid siege to Paneas; but unable to take it, he retired on receiving a sum of money and the liberation of twenty captive knights. A dysentery, caught during the siege, carried off king Amalric (July 1173), in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the twelfth of his unquiet reign.

ANECDOTES OF NOOR-ED-DEEN.

In oriental history, as political liberty is unknown in the East, the ruler is every thing, the people nothing; hence anecdotes of kings and nobles form so large a portion of it. The acts and the sayings of distinguished princes are carefully collected and noted, and when, as in the present case, the hero of the narration was a man of real virtue and talent, they interest perhaps more than even the fate of empires.

Respecting Noor-ed-deen, the author of the History of the Attabegs already quoted, gives us the following information:

Noor-ed-deen died at the age of fifty-eight lunar years, leaving an empire extending really or nominally over Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and a part of Mesopotamia. In person he was tall, his complexion was brown, his forehead broad, his eyes expressive of mildness, his countenance agreeable; he had no beard except under his chin. His life, the historian asserts, excelled in purity those of all other princes before and after Mohammed, the first four khalifs and the khalif Omar, son of Abd-al-Aziz, alone excepted.

Notwithstanding the extent of his dominions and the largeness of his revenues, Noor-ed-deen clothed and supported himself solely from the private property which he had acquired by the sale of his own share of the booty gained in war. He used neither silk, gold, nor silver, (such luxuries being prohibited

by the prophet) in his raiment; he drank no wine himself, and permitted not the sale of it in his dominions. The allowance which he made his wife, Radi Khatoon, was so very moderate that it scarcely sufficed for her support. She employed a friend to remonstrate with him on the subject, but Noor-ed-deen, reddening with anger, cried, "Where does she want me to get wherewithal to supply her expenses? I will not have myself condemned to the flames of hell for her. If she thinks that the money I have in charge is mine, she is mistaken; it belongs to the Moslems. I am but their treasurer, and I will not, to gratify her, become a faithless guardian of it." He then reflected a little and said, "I have still three shops remaining at Emesa; let her take them, I give them up to her." These shops, the writer observes, yielded but a very trifling revenue.

"I have been told," says this author, "that Noor-ed-deen received one day from Egypt a turban of a very fine stuff adorned with gold, but he would not even look at it. He deigned not to pay any attention while they were describing it to him, and a Soofee* happening to come in, he made him a present of it. It was in vain, they said, that such a turban did not suit a Soofee. 'Leave it with him,' said he, 'I hope that in place of this turban, God will give me something better in the next life.'"

Our author farther observes that he set an example of a pure and righteous life to all the kings of his

* That is, a mystic devotee.

time. "Is it not true," says he, "that the kings before him lived as in the old time of ignorance, slaves of their belly and of luxury, making no difference between good and evil? With Noor-ed-deen, on the contrary, God, as it were, returned to the earth. This prince attended to what religion enjoins and what it forbids, he made his people, his servants, the officers of his household, practise its precepts; he brought all the world to it by his example. Now is it not true that he who does good will be rewarded for the good he has done and has caused others to do for ever and ever?"

Noor-ed-deen had the highest respect for law and justice. Here is an example. As he was playing at mall one day in the square of Damascus, he perceived a man who was talking of him to another, and pointing to him. He instantly sent to ask what the man wanted. He replied, "I have a complaint to make against Noor-ed-deen on the subject of such and such a property; let him come to the tribunal and plead his cause." As soon as Noor-ed-deen heard this he left off playing, and went and presented himself before the cadi, saying, "I am come hither to defend my own interest, do by me as by every one else." The trial began, the plaintiff produced his reasons, Noor-ed-deen showed the proofs on his side, and it appeared that the man was in the wrong. Noor-ed-deen then, turning to the cadi and those present, said, "I knew that this man's claim was not just, but I have appeared here lest any one should think I wished to wrong him. Now that it has been clearly shown that the

right is on my side, I will give him the property for which he has cited me hither. Ye are witnesses that I give it up to him." "In reality," adds the author, "is not this an excess of equity, is not this going beyond the bounds of beneficence? O my God! cover with thy mercy this noble soul, this pure soul, which sought in all things the right way."

Noor-ed-deen was the first to establish a court of justice to take cognizance of injuries done to individuals. The occasion of his doing so was as follows. When he had fixed himself at Damascus, his emirs, especially Sheerkoo, who was as it were his partner in his empire, purchased lands and ill-treated the peasantry. Numerous complaints were made, and the cadi Kemal-ed-deen gave redress in some cases, but he feared to interfere with Sheerkoo's people, and contented himself with informing Noor-ed-deen of it, who then resolved to establish a court which might do justice without respect of persons. When Sheerkoo heard of it, he knew that it was directed against him, and calling together clerks and officers, he told them so, and threatening with crucifixion any of them who should be the cause of his being summoned before it, directed them to find out those who had any complaint against him, and to satisfy them at any price. It was observed that this would be very imprudent, as it would make the claimants very unreasonable. "Do as I desire," said he; "I would rather lose all I have than be summoned like a malefactor before Noor-ed-deen, and have a law-suit with poor wretches." When the court was built, Noor-ed-deen

went and took his seat in it in a solemn manner. He sat twice a week, assisted by the cadi Kemal-ed-deen and some lawyers. No complaint coming against Sheerkoo, he inquired the cause, and being told it, he shed tears and gave thanks unto God, saying "Let us praise God for that our people do well of themselves without needing to be forced to it." The author here calls on the reader to admire the justice and power of the prince in erecting this court, which appears to have been designed to take cognizance of appeals from the ordinary judges, and its decision to have been final.

"A thing more astonishing than all the rest is this, that the justice of Noor-ed-deen even went beyond his death. There was in his time at Damascus, a man of foreign origin, who, attracted by the mildness of the government, had come to settle in Syria: when, after the death of the prince, Damascus fell under the power of Saladin, seeing himself as well as all the rest of the people exposed to the brutality and oppression of Saladin's soldiers, he went to complain to him, but could get no redress. He then came down from the castle, tearing his clothes, beating his breast, weeping, crying for mercy, and saying 'Ah, Noor-ed-deen! Noor-ed-deen! if thou couldst see the way we are treated and the evils which afflict us, beyond doubt thou wouldst take pity on us; what then is become of thy justice?' He went through the city crying in this manner, directing his steps towards the tomb of Noor-ed-deen, and followed by an immense multitude. The fame of it came even to Saladin.

'Save the country, save the people,' it was said, 'or they will rise.' He ordered the man to be brought to him. He was then at Noor-ed-deen's tomb, surrounded by a prodigious crowd of people. He came to Saladin and obtained justice, but he began to weep more violently than ever; Saladin astonished asked him the cause; 'I weep,' replied he, 'I weep for so good a prince who causes justice to be done us even after his death.' 'You are right,' said Saladin, 'all that we have learned of justice, it is from him we have it.'"*

The valour and military skill of Noor-ed-deen were in high repute and almost proverbial. When he was going into battle, his usage was to take with him two bows and two quivers. He then fought like the meanest of his soldiers, saying, "Alas! it is a long time that I am sighing after martyrdom without being able to obtain it." The imâm Koteb-ed-deen (*Pole-star of religion*) hearing him one time uttering these words, said to him, "In the name of God do not put your life in danger; do not expose Islâm and the Moslems. You are their stay, and if (God preserve us from it!) you should be slain, it will be all over with us." "Ah Koteb-ed-deen," said he, "what hast thou said? Who can save Islâm and our country, but that great God who has no equal?"

"Noor-ed-deen," says our author, "knew how to have recourse on occasion to stratagem and artifice, especially against the Franks, (whom God confound!)

* The same is told of Jaffier the celebrated vizier of the khalif Haroon-er-Rasheed.

the greater part of his acquisitions were made in this way." He does not, however, furnish us with any details on this subject.

Noor-ed-deen's treatment of his soldiers was admirable. It was the usual practice among the Turkish princes, to grant their soldiers benefices in land for life, but this prince first made them hereditary. Hence, his soldiers used to say, "It is our property, it will go to our children. We should defend it at the peril of our lives." He kept a regular register of the names of his soldiers, their arms, horses, &c. so that he could not be deceived by the avarice of his emirs, for, said he, "We are every moment on the eve of a campaign: if the emirs neglect keeping up the number of their troops complete, some great calamity may befall Islâm."

The personal vigour and address of Noor-ed-deen contributed to gain him the admiration of his soldiers. "A vast number of persons who knew him," says our author, "have assured me that they never saw a man ride with so much grace, it seemed as if he and his horse were one. He was very expert at the game of mall; when the ball was thrown, and while it was in the air, he advanced with his horse at full speed, and taking the ball in its flight, sent it to the other end of the square; while he was doing this, no one saw his hand, he struck the ball with the bat without putting his hand out of his sleeve—with such ease did he play!"

Noor-ed-deen was a great founder of mosks, colleges, schools, and hospitals. He also built caravanserais along the great roads for the security of tra-

vellers. On all the frontiers of his states he erected watch towers, and the moment any movement of the enemy was perceived from them, a pigeon was let fly with the intelligence. "This was an excellent idea of Noor-ed-deen, and one of the most useful—God be merciful unto him!"

This pious prince also built convents and hermitages for the Soofees, and assigned them considerable revenues. He was fond of conversing with the superiors of these convents, whom he treated with the utmost respect, rising to receive them as soon as he saw them approaching, embracing them, and seating them beside him on the sofa. The fame of his respect for the ministers of religion spread far and wide, and holy men came even from Khorassân to enjoy the favour and witness the piety of the master of Syria. His emirs murmured at the preference that he showed for devout persons, and endeavoured to blacken them in his mind. This caused him much pain. When any one told him of the faults of a Soofee he would say, "But what man is faultless? None, but he who has completed his time. *i. e.* is dead."

His zeal for religion was great, and he was inexorable towards innovators on this subject. He used to say, "What! we look to the security of the highways against robbers and plunderers, though the evil they do is only secondary, and should we not defend religion! Should we not preserve against all attacks that which is the foundation of all?" Hearing that there was at Damascus a man named Joseph-ben-Adam, who shared the error of those *who liken*

God to the creature (the anthropomorphites) and by his modest and sober exterior was seeking to gain proselytes to his opinions, he sent for him, set him on an ass, and had him led through the city, followed by people, who were directed to buffet him, and a herald crying, "This is the reward of those who preach errors in religion." He then banished him for ever from the city.

"His festivals and assemblies were such as those of our prophet Mohammed are said to have been, that is to say, they united politeness of manners with extreme modesty. Women were strictly excluded from them. The conversation was on matters of science, or of religion, or some topics of piety, or of the war to be made against the infidels. But matters changed completely after the death of Noor-ed-deen. I have been told that when Saladin became master of Damascus, the hâfez* Aboo-'l-Kassem, being at one of his festivals, heard there language the grossness and indelicacy of which exceeded all bounds. He tried in vain to enter into conversation with Saladin as he used with Noor-ed-deen, he could not make himself be heard. They were all speaking at once, and no one would listen. Aboo-'l-Kassem retired in disgust and went home, and when Saladin pressed him to come to his parties, he replied, "In truth I am disgusted with them. When I am at your house, I fancy that I am in the house of some low wretch. No one listens to him who speaks to

* A *hâfez* is one who has the Korân by heart.

him, no one answers him who addresses him. Alas! these meetings presented a very different appearance in the time of Noor-ed-deen. In *his* presence we were like *a man who has a bird on his head.** When he spoke we listened in silence, and if we addressed him he gave attention." Saladin, in consequence of this, directed his emirs to be in future more reserved before Aboo-'l-Kassem."

Such is the character of this illustrious prince, drawn by one who was doubtless a panegyrist, but who quotes facts in proof of his assertions, and whose testimony is confirmed by that of the Christians. The archbishop of Tyre thus expresses himself: "At this time died Noor-ed-deen, the greatest enemy of the Christian name, in other respects a just, prudent, and religious prince according to the principles of his religion." In fact we may contemplate in Noor-ed-deen as good a monarch and even man as Islâm is capable of forming, pious, just, temperate, and humane. To make unceasing war on all who did not hold the tenets of Islâm was with him a sacred duty, and hence his enmity to the Franks should form one of his claims to praise as a pious Moslem, independent of its merit in a political point of view. But to the oriental Christians, whom he regarded as a portion of the natural population of the country, and who had for centuries been the subjects of the khalifs, he was always a just and merciful ruler. His virtues have been, as appears to us, thrown too much into the

* That is, still, and motionless. It is a common phrase with the Arabs.

shade by the brilliant qualities of Saladin, who, for reasons which will appear, attracted the chief attention of the Western writers; but we doubt if, when fairly viewed, Noor-ed-deen may not claim the superiority in moral worth over his more renowned successor on the throne of Syria.

BALDWIN IV.

BALDWIN IV, the son of Amalric, was crowned immediately on the death of his father, but as he was but thirteen years of age, it was necessary to appoint him a guardian. Count Raymond of Tripolis laid claim to this important trust, and the prelates, barons, and people in general, were in his favour; he was opposed by Milo de Plancy, the favourite of the late king, a man very generally disliked for his insolence and arrogance. The party of Raymond however, it is said, employed murderers, who fell on and slew Plancy in the dusk of the evening, in the open street of Ptolemaïs, and thus put an end to opposition. The administration of the state was forthwith committed to the count of Tripolis. The young king made great proficiency in his studies under the chancellor William, afterwards archbishop of Tyre, the able historian of the Crusades, and he excelled in feats of bodily strength and activity, but an incipient leprosy damped the hopes of his subjects, and that fatal disease encreased on him as he advanced in years.

PROGRESS OF SALADIN.

NOOR-ED-DEEN had also left his son a minor. Malek-es-saleh *(King of Salvation)* Ismael as he was named, was received at Damascus as the successor of his father, and the emir Ebn Mokaddem governed in his name. Saladin acknowledged the supremacy of the son of Noor-ed-deen, and the emirs of Egypt loved his name. But many emirs were discontented with Ebn Mokaddem; Seif-ed-deen, the cousin of the young prince, made himself master of the country beyond the Euphrates; the eyes of most Moslems were turned towards the gallant Saladin, and Ebn Mokaddem deemed it his wisest course to invite him to assume the government. The gates of Damascus were opened to him, its example was followed by Hama, and Emesa; Aleppo alone, moved by the tears of Malek-es-saleh, refused to admit him who styled himself that prince's vicegerent, and its governor engaged Sinan the sheikh of the Assassins to turn the daggers of his followers against the ruler of Egypt. The Dai-el-kebir assented, but the murderers were detected and executed, and Aleppo was formally invested. Count Raymond meantime assembled the troops of the kingdom at Arca, where he was visited by envoys from the garrison of the citadel of Emesa, which still held out for Malek-es-saleh, offering a rich remuneration for aid. The offer was embraced; but when the Moslems learned that an army was on its march from Mosul, they

recalled their promises, and the Christians returned to Arca. Saladin now abandoned the siege of Aleppo, and proceeded to secure his acquisitions in Cœle-Syria; he soon forced the citadel of Emesa to surrender, and through the constable Humphrey of Thoron, whom he had bribed, he engaged the count of Tripolis to bind himself not to impede him in his contest with the family of Noor-ed-deen. The Christian army shortly afterwards dispersed.

The army of Mosul, led by Az-ed-deen *(Glory of Religion,)* the younger brother of Seif-ed-deen, was now on its march from Aleppo, by whose militia it had been joined, towards Hama. Saladin sent proposals of peace, offering to resign his conquests in Cœle-Syria, and to acknowledge Malek-es-saleh as his superior lord, on condition of being made governor of Damascus. These terms were rejected; the armies encountered near Hama, and a bloody battle ended in favour of Saladin, who immediately afterwards renewed the siege of Aleppo, and Malek-es-saleh was forced to purchase peace by a renunciation of his rights over the conquests of Saladin. The prince of Mosul now appeared in person at the head of a large army, but it shared the fate of that led by his brother. In the camp of Seif-ed-deen were found a great number of jugglers, and of female singers, and a variety of curious birds in cages. One of the jugglers was sent with all the birds to Seif-ed-deen, with a counsel never again to expose such beautiful creatures to danger. The ill-fated Malek-es-saleh was again besieged and forced to sue for peace; aware of the gene-

rosity of the character of Saladin, he sent his sister into that prince's camp. Saladin asked the princess what gift she required; she, as instructed, replied the castle of Ezaz, and Saladin restored without hesitation that important fortress to the dominion of Aleppo. He now augmented his importance by espousing the widow of Noor-ed-deen, and praises and presents were sent to him by the khalif of Bagdad. He assumed the title of Sultan, and his name was mentioned in the prayers in the mosks, and impressed on the coin of his realm.*

During the last siege of Aleppo, the life of Saladin had been attempted thrice in one day by the Assassins, and he now determined to take vengeance on that murderous society. He therefore entered their territory, wasted it with fire and sword, laid siege to their chief fortress, and only granted them peace at the suit of his uncle, Shahab-ed-deen *(Strength of Religion)*. Having thus secured himself against the attempts of this dangerous sect, Saladin returned to Egypt.

AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM.

THE Christians made some plundering incursions into the territory of Damascus, and drove the cattle, but were unable to take any fortified place. The disorder of the king grew worse every year, the count of Tripolis, weary of the opposition which he still met with, became quite negligent of affairs, and the barons saw the necessity of looking out for some valiant prince of the West, to whom they might com-

* These are the tokens of dominion in the East.

mit the administration of the kingdom. They fixed their regards on William Longaspata, *(Longsword)* son of the marquis of Monferrat, a young prince of great military skill and valour, and connected with the principal crowned heads of Europe, and they offered him the king's sister Sibylla in marriage, with Joppa and Ascalon as her dower. William accepted the proposal, and in the following year (1176) he arrived at Sidon. His hasty temper, and his indulgence in eating and drinking, alienated from him at first some of the barons, but his candour and openness soon won all hearts, and the highest hopes were entertained of him. These hopes, however, were blighted by his death in June of the following year, leaving his young widow pregnant.

A few weeks after the death of Longaspata, Philip count of Flanders landed at Ptolemais, at the head of a large train of knights. This prince had taken the cross to expiate the guilt of bloodshed and devastation, and his appearance revived the hopes of the Pullani. The fleet and troops of the emperor Manuel also appeared about the same time, and the Greeks were impatient to undertake operations against Egypt. The barons were unanimous in their resolution to commit the government, without any limitation, to the count of Flanders. But the interestedness and the levity of this prince prevented anything from being concluded with him. The Greeks retired, and Philip, after joining with Reginald of Antioch in an unsuccessful invasion of the territory of Aleppo, returned to Europe with loss of fame.

One last ray of glory gilded the declining realm of

Jerusalem. A victory was gained which brings back the memory of the times of the first Baldwins. While the chivalry of Antioch and Tripolis and of the count of Flanders were besieging Harem and Aleppo, tidings of the approach of Saladin came to Jerusalem. The king and Raymond put themselves at the head of all the knights whom they could assemble, a band of but three hundred and sixty warriors, and advanced to Ascalon. Leaving a small garrison in the town, they set forth to engage the foe; but when they beheld the multitude of the heathens their courage fell, and they returned in the evening to the town. The Moslems now divided and fell to ravaging the country; they burned Ramla and approached Lidda and Jerusalem. When those who were in Ascalon learned that the army of the enemy was separated, they set forth full of resolution, preceded by the holy cross, to chastise them for their ravages. Near Ramla they found the heathens encamped; the king descended from his chariot, fell down before the cross, and fervently prayed to God for victory. At this sight the knights swore to each other never to fly, go things as they might. Before the Moslems could put themselves in battle-array, the little band of Christians was on them in close and well-disposed order. After a brave but short resistance, the Moslems fled in confusion, the Mamlooks*

* *Mamlook* signifies *slave.* Saladin's Mamlooks were Turkish children who had been purchased, or the children of the Turkish emirs by their slaves and concubines. They were carefully brought up and trained to arms.

of Sultan Saladin, a thousand in number, arrayed like himself, in yellow garments over their corselets, fought till their prince had time to make his escape, and but few of themselves escaped the sword or the captivity of the Christians. Night alone ended the slaughter. The cold and rain (for it was the 25th of November,) and want of food destroyed numbers of the infidels who were scattered in the wilderness, and many, to escape starvation, gave themselves up to the Christians. Almost all the horses and beasts of burden perished by the severity of the weather, and the roving Arabs, indifferent as to Moslem or Christian, plundered the baggage which had been left at El-Arish. It was with great difficulty that the sultan himself effected his escape. "More than once," wrote he to his brother, "was I on the verge of destruction, and God hath only delivered me in order that he may farther accomplish his will through me."

The Christians returned with their booty to Jerusalem, and they employed the leisure which they now enjoyed in repairing the walls of that city, and in building a fort near the Ford of Jacob on the river Jordan, of which, when finished, they committed the charge to the knights of the Temple. While they were thus engaged, the king made an unsuccessful attempt on the herds of the Moslems which grazed in the woods of Paneas; his life was saved only by the valour of the knights, and Humphrey of Thoron, the constable of the kingdom, received wounds in his defence of which he died a few days afterwards.

DEFEAT OF THE CHRISTIANS.

SALADIN now set out with a numerous army to the defence of Kilij Arslan, the prince of Iconium. As he proceeded, he wasted and destroyed the land of the Christians, and he attempted to take the castle at the Ford of Jacob. The king assembled his knights, and marched after the infidels, and from the summit of a hill near Paneas they beheld the camp of the enemy and the numerous bands of ravagers who were spread over the extensive plain, burning and destroying. Leaving the wearied infantry behind them, the knights descended into the plain, and having stood a few hours to rest their horses and to take counsel, they advanced against the Moslems. They cut off from the camp and slew several of the plunderers. This partial success filled them with confidence of victory, the foot-men came down into the plain and scattered about to collect the booty left by the flying neathens, and the count of Tripolis and the Templars separated themselves from the other knights and encamped on a hill by the river. When Saladin perceived this, he made a furious charge on the Christians, who had no time to set themselves in array. They fled in confusion; many valiant knights were slain, many made captives, among these last was Odo of St. Amand, the godless master of the Templars. The valour of his knights once more saved the diseased young king.

When, after the battle, the master of the Temple

was brought before Saladin, the sultan offered him his liberty in exchange for that of one of his kinsmen, who was a captive to the Christians; but the haughty Templar replied, "God forbid that I should give an ill example! others, then, expecting to be exchanged, would let themselves more easily be captured. A Templar should give nothing for his ransom beyond his scarf or his sword." He died unlamented in the captivity of the sultan.

A ransom of one hundred thousand byzants was required of Hugh of Tiberias; he replied, that his land and income were too small to allow him to pay it. "But," said Saladin, "you will find no difficulty in raising this money in the space of a year, which I give you, for every man of ability among those of your faith will readily contribute for you." "My lord," said Hugh in a cheerful tone, "I do not think I could find among those of my own faith a better and more excellent man than yourself. Permit me, therefore, to ask yourself to contribute first." Saladin, highly gratified by the humour of the knight, gave him fifty thousand byzants, and his emirs imitating his generosity contributed so largely, that ten thousand byzants over the required sum were collected. Hugh returned home joyfully with this sum, and with eleven Christians to whom the sultan had given their liberty.

The arrival of Henry count of Troyes with several princes and nobles, and a numerous company of knights in Acre, excited but to disappoint the hopes of the Christians. They agreed to aid in the relief

of the besieged fortress on the Jordan; but while the king delayed, intelligence came that it was already in the hands of Saladin. "The Templars," says an Eastern writer, "flung themselves some into the fire, where they were burned; some cast themselves into the waves of the Jordan, some jumped down from the walls on the rocks and were dashed to pieces, others were slain by the enemy." Without making any attempt on the heathen, the Christian army which had been assembled, ingloriously broke up and separated, for "the Lord their God," says the archbishop of Tyre, "has departed from them."

MARRIAGE OF THE KING'S SISTER.

In the following year, (1180) king Baldwin, whose disease had now become very violent, learning that the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripolis were coming to Jerusalem to keep the Easter, with a large train of knights, fancied it was their design to deprive him of the kingdom; he hastened therefore to celebrate the marriage of his sister Sibylla with Guy of Lusignan, a son of Hugh Bruno of Poitou, a man of undoubted personal valour and of noble birth, but utterly devoid of the qualities necessary for the government of a state in the present condition of the kingdom. His personal beauty, it is said, had recommended him to Sibylla. The king's choice of him gave universal dissatisfaction, and his elevation

was, to Guy himself, the commencement of a series of calamities.*

A truce with Saladin was absolutely necessary for the kingdom, and fortunately the want of supplies for his troops in Damascus induced the sultan, who now had ended the war in Lesser Asia, to lend a willing ear to the proposals of the king, and a truce by sea and by land, for strangers as well as native Christians, was agreed on, the first truce, as the historian observes, which was made on equal terms and without any advantages for the Christians. Saladin then turned his arms against the count of Tripolis, ravaged and wasted his territory, and sent fifty ships against the town of Aradus. He, however, granted a truce to the count of Tripolis also, and he now directed his whole attention to the regulation of his kingdom, and to making preparations for the great object which he had in view.

DISCORD AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

EVERY stay on which the Christians depended seemed to fall away from them and leave them defenceless. They now, to their sorrow, heard of the death of the brave and enterprizing emperor Manuel, who had for some time past taken such an interest in

* The Lusignan of history is a very different person from the Lusignan of Voltaire's tragedy of *Zaïre*. It would perhaps be as well if poets and novelists let real characters alone, if they will not represent them as they were.

their welfare. Yet nothing was to them a warning, and they still persisted in their animosities and their vicious courses. A quarrel between the king and Raymond of Tripolis, on account of the former having promised his sister to Humphrey of Thoron, grandson of the constable who was killed at Tiberias, was with difficulty made up. Boemond of Antioch put away without any cause his wife Theodora, the emperor Manuel's niece; and married Sibylla, a woman of ill repute. On the patriarch remonstrating with him, he commenced a bitter persecution of him and the clergy, and the pope laid the land under interdict. When intelligence of these dissensions reached Jerusalem it caused great uneasiness, for it was apprehended that the infidels would take advantage of them; and that, if known in the West, they would increase the evil opinion of the eastern Christians. At the same time it was deemed advisable to proceed with caution, as Boemond was of that character that he would not hesitate to call the Turks to his aid. A deputation, consisting of the patriarch Heraclius, the masters of the Temple and Hospital, and Raynald, Boemond's father-in-law, and others of the principal persons in the realm, was sent to Antioch. They were joined in the way by Raymond of Tripolis, and by their efforts they patched up a reconciliation between the prince and the patriarch. But when they were gone, Boemond persisted in his evil courses, and drove his best friends and advisers out of his country because they approved not of his conduct towards the church; and several of the prin-

cipal knights of Antioch entered the service of Rupin prince of Armenia (*i. e.* Cilicia), who gladly entertained them.

The king's disorder had now encreased so much, that though his mental powers remained unimpaired, he had lost not merely the use of his hands and feet, but even his sight. Under these circumstances, Guy of Lusignan succeeded in obtaining from him the cities of Ascalon and Joppa, and the rank of viceroy. Guy thus by taking on him a burthen beyond his strength prepared his own ruin and that of the kingdom.

BREACH OF THE TRUCE.

NECESSARY as the truce had been for the Christians, they were the first to break it. This was done by Raynald, to whom the charge of the country beyond the Jordan was committed; he made an incursion into Arabia and ravaged it, but the governor of Damascus forced him to retire, and when Saladin heard of this breach of truce, he laid in irons and stripped of their property fifteen hundred pilgrims whose ship had been stranded at Damietta, and he led an army into the country beyond the Jordan, and laid it waste. In the council of war held at Jerusalem, the prudent advice of Raymond of Tripolis was to leave the trans-Jordane land to its fate, and to provide for the defence of the country on this side; but the impetuous Raynald was for marching through the

MOUNT TABOR.

valley of the Dead Sea and getting between Saladin and Damascus. This opinion was adopted, but, as Raymond had told them, to no purpose; for the sultan, by taking a short round, reached his destination. The Christians then returned and posted themselves in Galilee, at the well of Sephoria, to be at hand to oppose Saladin. But while they were there, the emirs of Damascus, Hama, Baalbek, and Bostrum, crossed the Jordan below the lake, ravaged the whole country, took the town of Buria, near Mount Tabor, led away five hundred captives from it, recrossed the river, and made themselves masters, through the cowardice of the garrison, of a strong cavern in Trachonitis. This cave was in a steep limestone rock, it had three chambers over each other, was accessible only by a very narrow path, and the possession of it had enabled the Christians to secure to themselves half the wine, oil, and corn, of the surrounding country.

Saladin now came and encamped near Tiberias and wasted the land; the Christian chivalry advanced to engage him. The sultan meantime crossed the river and invested Beisan or Scythopolis, which lies in a well-watered plain between Mount Gilboa and the Jordan, but meeting a braver resistance than he had anticipated, he retired and advanced to meet the Christians who were now at Belveir, a fortress between Beisan and Tiberias. When morning broke, the Christians who were encamped on the hills beheld on the plain the Moslem host of twenty thousand horsemen; themselves reckoned but seven hundred

helms; some lost courage and disgracefully fled, the rest, relying on the aid of God and the Holy Cross, which was borne by Baldwin, the treasurer of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, boldly charged the heathen. It was July, the heat was intolerable, and more of the combatants died by it than by the sword; victory at length declared for the warriors of the Cross, Saladin repassed the Jordan, the conquerors returned to Sephoria, deriving only fame from their victory. Saladin conveyed his booty to Damascus, and shortly afterwards he invested Berytus by sea and land, while his brother Malek-el-Adel (*Just King*) wasted with fire and sword the south of the kingdom.

The people of Berytus defended themselves gallantly, and as Saladin had no military machines, his troops were preparing to attempt to scale the walls, when the sultan was himself wounded in the eye by an arrow, as he stood on a hill to direct the operations. This accident prevented the attack, and as he learned that aid was approaching by sea and by land, he retired, burning the villages and destroying the vineyards and gardens.

The thoughts of Saladin now turned to the acquisition of what remained of the dominions of Noor-ed-deen. The amiable young prince Malek-es-Saleh was dead, and none of the family of Noor-ed-deen was worthy to succeed him, all of them being weak and effeminate. Ez-ed-deen of Mosul, to whom the dying prince had left his heritage, gave Aleppo to his brother Emad-ed-deen, in exchange for Sanjar.

Saladin, after an attempt on Aleppo, crossed the Euphrates; all the places which had belonged to the county of Edessa submitted to him, Sanjar was taken by storm, but the attack on Mosul failed. He returned to Syria, and again invested Aleppo, which Emad-ed-deen surrendered to him on receiving Sanjar and other towns beyond the river to hold as a tributary dominion. The Christian states were now entirely surrounded by those of sultan Saladin, each year the toils were pitched closer.

The Christians were nettled at the contempt of them shown by the sultan in his going away beyond the Euphrates without having sought a truce with them, and they now invaded and ravaged the land of Damascus. But the harvest had been already gathered and secured, the people had taken refuge with their cattle and property in the mountains, and little booty was to be gained. As they were returning, they resolved to attempt the recovery of the cavern, which had been taken from them some months before. A part of them stayed on the plain to bar the egress of those within; the remainder got on the top of the rock, taking with them some able stone-cutters to cut through the lime-stone which was veined by stone of another species. Day and night these men wrought, and at the end of three weeks, those in the upper chamber could hear the strokes of the hammer over them, and feel the shaking of the rock, and they immediately surrendered on condition of a safe conduct to Bostrum.

A bold but unsuccessful attempt was made about this time by prince Raynald. He suddenly fell on and took Ailah on the Red Sea, and while he himself stayed to besiege the castle, he put a part of his men in the ships which he found there, and they sailed along the Egyptian coast and plundered the town of Aidab. Malek-el-Adel, the governor of Egypt, immediately had ships conveyed on the backs of camels from Alexandria to the Red Sea, Raynald was put to flight, and the Egyptian fleet pursued the Christians who had landed on the Arabian coast with the intention of destroying the holy towns of Mecca and Medina. After a hard conflict, the Christians were all slain or captured, a part of the prisoners were sent to Egypt, the remainder were led to the sacred valley of Mena, in which the pilgrims to Mecca are used to slay beasts in sacrifice, and were there put to death as victims to the glory of the prophet.

The failure of these attempts on the dominions of Saladin awoke the Christians to a lively sense of their present feebleness. A fully attended diet was held at Jerusalem, and a general property tax was imposed for the defence of the realm. Soon afterwards the chivalry of Jerusalem, Tripolis, and Antioch, rendezvoused at the well of Sephoria, and here the king, finding the state of his health to be such as utterly to incapacitate him for business or action, resigned the government to Guy de Lusignan, reserving to himself the royal title, the city of Jerusalem, and an annual revenue of ten thousand byzants. This arrangement met with general disapprobation.

Saladin now crossed the Jordan, entered and plundered Beisan, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, ravaged the country, and fixed his camp by the well of Tutania, at the foot of Gilboa, on the road from Beisan to Neapolis. The Christians who had been reinforced by the arrival of the duke of Brabant and many other valiant pilgrims, and by the crews of a number of Italian ships, and who now counted thirteen hundred knights and fifteen thousand foot-men, advanced and posted themselves in the vale of Esdraelon. But the animosity of the prince against Lusignan paralyzed all their efforts; it was in vain that Saladin left his advantageous position and offered them battle, in vain he sought to provoke them by wasting the country before their eyes, they remained immovable, though they began to suffer from want of supplies. Saladin at length led away his warriors, the Christians returned to their usual post at Sephoria, where the pilgrims left them, and the Syrian knights then retired to their towns and castles.

SIEGE OF CARAC.

RAYNALD DE CHATILLON thought this a good occasion for celebrating the wedding of his step-son with Elizabeth, the sister of the king, who was now eleven years old. Jugglers, musicians and singing women, crowded in great numbers to his castle of Carac; joyous banquets, and every kind of merriment filled its halls, when suddenly the festivity of the guests was

disturbed by intelligence of the approach of Saladin, and soon his squadrons were seen to approach and surround the castle. The sultan had been joined by Malek-el-Adel and the troops of Egypt, for the acquisition of Carac was a matter of paramount importance to him. Raynald was advised to abandon the village, which was on the side of the hill, under the castle, but relying on the strength of its situation he refused to comply. Its defenders, however, were unable to resist the Saracens, and it and all that it contained became their prize. The castle was assailed by eight machines, whose discharges made the very rock to shake, while their ceaseless showers of stones and darts rendered it dangerous for the defenders even to look out through the gratings in the walls. As, however, the castle was well supplied with provisions, it was resolved to hold out if possible till aid came from Jerusalem.

BALDWIN'S DISPUTE WITH GUY DE LUSIGNAN.

The complaints made against Guy of Lusignan, on whom the blame was laid most unjustly of the disgrace sustained by the Christian arms in the valley of Esdraelon, joined with the resentment of the king against him, for his refusal to exchange with him Tyre for Jerusalem, induced that prince to resume the government, and he associated with him his nephew Baldwin, son of William Longaspata, a child of five years, who was anointed and crowned in the Church of the Resurrection, and to give the

people a view of their young monarch, Balian of Ibelim, a large handsome man, carried him in his arms from the church to the palace. The barons were naturally displeased with this settlement of the state, which gave them two incapable heads instead of one, and in a council held on the march to the relief of Carac, they obliged the king to name Raymond of Tripolis commander of the army.

Saladin retired on the approach of the Christian army, and the king now turned all his thoughts to vengeance on Guy of Lusignan. He required the patriarch to pronounce a divorce between him and his wife Sibylla. The count of Joppa saw that he must stand on his defence, or be ruined. He, therefore, hastened to Ascalon, on the fidelity of whose citizens he could rely. Under pretext of sickness, he declined compliance with the royal summons to the enquiry into his marriage, and the king, accompanied by several barons, went to summon him with his own voice; but he found the gates closed, and though he knocked at them several times with his own hand, they were not opened. Joppa admitted him gladly. In the council held at Ptolemaïs soon after, about sending an embassy to the West, the patriarch, and the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, vainly sought to soften the indignation of the king against the count of Joppa, and Guy, seeing no hopes of favour, began to commit ravages in the royal territories. At this council the regency of the kingdom was committed to the able hands of the count of Tripolis, for the minority of the young king, and

in case of the death of that prince before he came of age, the disposal of the throne was to be committed to the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and England.

DEATH OF THE KING — DISPUTED SUCCESSION.

VERY shortly afterwards, Baldwin IV. died, (16th March 1185,) and was buried with his fathers, on Mount Calvary. Count Raymond, who had made a truce with Saladin, was enjoying the satisfaction resulting from the good wishes and gratitude of the people, who were now plentifully supplied with food from the land of the Saracens, when (1186) the death of the young king occurred to disconcert all his plans. The countess of Joppa, summoned by the enemies of Raymond, hastened immediately to Jerusalem, and claimed the crown as heiress to the late kings. The keys of the treasury were in the custody of the patriarch, and the masters of the two military orders; and the patriarch, and the master of the Temple, were both favourable to the claims of the countess; but the master of the Hospital declared for maintaining the arrangement made between Baldwin IV. and the count of Tripolis. Sibylla sent for Raynald of Chatillon, to advise and assist her, and by his counsel messengers were sent to Neapolis, to invite Raymond, and the barons who were there assembled, to come and assist at the coronation of the countess. The barons on their part sent two Cistercian abbots to Jerusalem, to call upon the

patriarch, and the masters of the orders, in the name of God and the pope, to abstain from crowning Sibylla.

The party of the countess, on the receipt of this message, closed the gates of the city for fear of an attack, and led by Raynald, and the master of the Temple, she proceeded to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the patriarch awaited her. That prelate demanded his key from the master of the Temple, who delivered it to him. A messenger was then sent to the master of the Hospital for the key which he had, and on his refusal to give it, the patriarch and the master of the Temple went to the Hospital, and having, after a good deal of searching, found the master, who had concealed himself, they pressed him so with entreaties and arguments, that he at length took out the key, and flung it down on the ground. They picked it up, and returning to the church, opened the treasury and took out the crowns. The patriarch laid one of them on the altar, and placed the other on the head of the countess; then taking the other he gave it to her, saying, "You are a woman, and require a man to govern the kingdom. Take this crown, and place it on the head of whom you will." Sibylla called to her husband Guy, and crying, "What God has joined, let no man separate; be thou, Guy, my husband and my king; I know none more worthy of my hand, and of the kingdom;" he knelt down, and she placed the crown on his head.

When the intelligence reached Neapolis, Guy's

own brother Godfrey exclaimed, "Well, if *he* is our king, he will one time or other be our Lord God!"* Baldwin of Ramla said, "Guy is a fool, and a buffoon; he will lose the kingdom as he has got it, to our common disgrace, and we shall all perish by his folly if we do not make haste to quit Palestine."

They immediately resolved to give the royal dignity to Humphrey of Thoron, who was married to the sister of Sibylla. But this young man, who was of a timid temper, fearing the toil of ruling such a state as Jerusalem now was, fled in the night to the holy city, and proffered his homage to Guy. The other barons, as they considered that there was now no competitor, soon followed his example, and Raymond remained alone opposed to Guy. The king, by the advice of the master of the Temple, Raymond's personal enemy, assembled his vassals, and proceeded to besiege the count of Tripolis in Tiberias. Raymond on his part hesitated not to call in Saladin for aid against his Christian brethren, and the sultan sent him a body of Turkish horse, who were readily admitted into Tiberias, and came himself and encamped within five miles of that town. Fruitless efforts were made to reconcile the king and the count, as the former refused to give up Berytus, which was claimed by the latter. Saladin now offered to extend the truce, which he had made

* Another account says that his brother Geoffrey, on hearing of his election exclaimed, "Those who made *him* a king would have made *me* a god if they had known me."

for a few months with the count when regent, for three years, and the king, with the advice of the Templars, readily assented to it.

ILL STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

EVERY cessation of war, every moment of repose, was of inestimable value to the hard-set Latin Christians of the East; yet while the Moslems adhered faithfully to their treaties, they were themselves the first to break them. Raynald of Chatillon, who had come to the kingdom for its curse, was now as before the confounder of oaths and compacts. He fell upon and plundered the retinue of Saladin's mother, and then the caravans from Damascus to Mecca, which were journeying through his land on the faith of the truce, and laid all the travellers in irons; and when Saladin demanded their liberty, and restitution of their property, he met a refusal. The sultan then solemnly swore that he would with his own hand put Raynald to death if ever he got him in his power.

The discord and the moral corruption, precursive of the fall of states, were now at a great height in the sinking kingdom of Jerusalem, and there was no longer that energy in the king and princes, that confident reliance on the favour of Heaven in the people, which had hitherto obviated their ill effects. The patriarch Heraclius was a man of notorious ill-life, who lived publicly with a woman who had been the wife of a grocer; his election had been opposed by

several, especially by William the archbishop of Tyre, who, using a mode of enquiring suited to those times, asserted that he had read in old books, that as one patriarch Heraclius had found the holy cross in Persia, so it would be lost by another of that name. But the influence of Sibylla, with her brother Baldwin IV, had carried it in favour of Heraclius. The orders of the Temple and the Hospital were now become extremely corrupt, and their lives gave countenance to the charges, probably false, which were made against them. The Templars in particular were accused of the chief guilt in the treachery against the crusaders at Damascus, and of the ill-success of king Amalric in Egypt, and of having sold the crown to Guy of Lusignan. Among the transitions to the heathens, which were now frequent, was that of a Templar, Robert of St. Albans in England, to whom Saladin gave one of his female relatives in marriage, and the renegade, a little before the truce with count Raymond, had, at the head of a Moslem army, ravaged the land from Montroyal to Jericho, and Neapolis. He had engaged to the sultan to take the holy city; but the Christian chivalry had put him and his troops to flight.

DEFEAT OF THE CHRISTIANS.

SALADIN, who was now at peace with all his Moslem neighbours, resolved to take full vengeance on the Christians for their breach of faith. He assembled all his forces, and while he himself encamped before

Carac, to protect the pilgrims of Mecca from Raynald, his son, Malek-el-afdal (*Most excellent king*) prepared to ravage the lands of Acre. As it was necessary to pass through the territory of Tiberias to arrive there, the young prince applied to Raymond, with whom his father was in amity, for a free passage. Raymond was greatly perplexed how to act; he feared to incur the odium of his fellow Christians if he aided the Moslems, and he was anxious not to break with the sultan. He, however, hit on the following expedient; he granted the passage to Malek-el-afdal, provided that he returned before sunset of the day on which he should cross the Jordan, and that he broke into no town, village, or house, but only carried off what he should find on the land; and he sent to warn the Christians to keep at home, and secure their cattle and property on the day the Moslems were to pass. He also sent to desire the ambassadors who were coming to reconcile him with the king, to halt that day.

But the master of the Temple, who was one of the ambassadors, spurned the counsel of his ancient enemy, and on the following day he assembled in arms all the brethren of his order who were near, and inducing the master of the Hospital and his knights to join, and having drawn together in all a hundred and forty knights and five hundred foot-men, he set out in quest of the heathen, whom they encountered at the brook Kishon, when, faithful to their promise, they were returning to the Jordan in the evening. As soon as the Christian knights beheld

the enemy, they made an impetuous charge on them. The Turks, as usual, gave way. Confident of victory the knights pursued, leaving their infantry unprotected; a body of Turks rushed from a neighbouring valley, and got between the knights and the footmen, who were speedily destroyed by their swords, spears, and iron clubs. The infidels then surrounded the knights, who could not employ their arms in the narrow space which they were in. The master of the Temple and three of his knights alone escaped; the master of the Hospital was made a captive. The Turks then retired, bearing the heads of the slaughtered knights on their spears, and dragging with them their prisoners. The inhabitants of Nazareth collected the corpses of the Christian warriors, and brought them to their city, and interred them in consecrated earth.

Balian of Ibelim, who had not journeyed with the other ambassadors, on coming to Faba in the plain of Esdraelon, saw the tents of the Templars pitched, and to his no small surprise found them empty. No one was in view to give him any information, and the servant whom he sent to the castle found there only two sick persons, and these knew nothing of what had happened. He was gone some distance on his way to Nazareth when he met a Templar, who informed him of the calamity of his order. Balian sent off immediately to his wife Maria, the widow of Baldwin IV. who was at Neapolis, directing her to despatch all the knights who were there to join him at Nazareth. When he had found in that town the archbishop of

Tyre and the master of the Templars, he and the prelate proceeded to Tiberias, to endeavour to recall Raymond to his duty. Raymond readily consented to a reconciliation; he dismissed the Turks, and hastened to the king, who also, when he heard of the count's approach, advanced to meet him. When he came within view of the count he alighted and went on foot, the count did the same; he fell on his knees before his sovereign in the presence of all the prelates and barons, the king raised and embraced him, and they proceeded together to Neapolis, to consult about the means of defending the realm Raymond advised that all the troops that could be collected should be assembled at the well of Sephoria, and the master of the Temple offered to give the king, for the pay of knights and soldiers, the money which had been sent to Jerusalem and committed to his charge, by Henry II. of England, in expiation of the murder of Thomas à Becket.

BATTLE OF HITTIN.*

All the princes, barons, and knights of the kingdom, assembled at the appointed time at the well of Sephoria; the towns were left without garrison, as every man able to bear arms was summoned to the field, and the army, one of the most numerous and best appointed which had ever fought in defence of the Holy Land, counted twelve hundred knights, a considerable num-

* Called by the Latins the battle of Tiberias.

ber of Turcopoles or light horse, and twenty thousand foot. The holy cross was confided, by the cowardly and sensual patriarch, to the joint care of the bishops of Ptolemaïs and Lidda. This caused uneasiness to the minds of some of the warriors, and their fears were augmented by the prodigy, it was said, of the breaking of a stone image of the child Jesus, and the flowing of blood from the pieces. Saladin, on his side, summoned all the Moslems to his standard, and on Friday, his favourite day of action, as then he had with him the prayers of the faithful, he encamped at Gaulan, by the northern end of the lake Tiberias, and sent a corps over the Jordan, who wasted and burned the country as far as Nazareth and Jezreel. The entire Moslem host followed, and encamped on a hill to the north of Tiberias. His light horse attacked that town, and the countess of Tripolis and her children were obliged to take refuge in the citadel, whence she sent to the camp at Sephoria for aid.

In the council held on this occasion, count Raymond, notwithstanding the danger of his family, earnestly advised remaining in their present advantageous position, where they had abundance of water, and of all other necessaries. He knew from experience that delay was the most effectual mode of combating Saladin; he represented the unfavourable nature of the ground between Sephoria and Tiberias, and the ease with which the Turks could annoy them, and oblige them to take a position where they would be in want of every thing. The

master of the Temple interrupted him by saying with a sneer, in allusion to the fable, "There is still some of the wolf's hair remaining." Raymond offered to wager his head that, if they acted contrary to his advice, they would find what he said to be but too true. The king, and all but the master of the Temple, at length yielded to the prudent advice of the count of Tripolis, and the council broke up at midnight.

But the master of the Temple sought the presence of the king ere he retired to repose, and reproaching him for yielding to the traitorous council of Raymond of Tripolis, called on him to lead himself and his brethren to the field, for the Templars would sooner lay aside the mantle of their order than endure the disgrace of suffering a Christian town to be taken almost within sight of such a gallant army. The weak and irresolute king in an evil hour yielded to his representations; the trumpets were ordered to sound, and the heralds to summon the warriors to arms; and when the barons came to the tent of the king, in order to remonstrate with him, they found him already putting on his armour, and with dismal anticipations they followed his example. The count of Tripolis, as they were in his territory, led the first division, the troops of the king, and the holy cross were in the centre; the Templars, and Balian of Ibelim, with his knights, formed the rear; the other divisions marched on the flanks.

Saladin rejoiced to hear that the Christian army was in motion, and he hastened to meet them.

When they had gotten half-way to Tiberias they found the truth of count Raymond's words; they were tortured by thirst, and by the heat of the sultry day, (July 4,) and the incessant charges of the Turkish cavalry gave them no cessation from toil. In the council which they held, some were for attacking the enemy at once, before their strength was exhausted by hunger and thirst; others for trying to gain the shore of the lake, which was not more than a mile distant. Meanwhile the night came on; it was resolved to encamp where they were, and to defer the fight till the coming day. They spread their tents on the summit of a rocky hill, where during the night they were encompassed by the enemy, who set fire to all the plants and shrubs around them, and the heat and smoke greatly contributed to augment their sufferings.

The light of the next day revealed to them the horrors of their situation; they were on a hill environed by rocks, and the Turkish squadrons were on all sides. The word was given to set forward. The infidels retiring as they advanced, would give them no opportunity for fighting; they annoyed them by their sudden charges, and by setting fire to the shrubs and herbage on all sides. By the third hour the Christians reached the hill of Hittin, whence they could discern lake Gennesareth; and the view of its shores, and its placid surface, the scenes of so many of their Saviour's miracles, served but to augment their despondency, as they now deemed themselves abandoned of Heaven. The Turks began to

press on them more closely; the Templars, Hospitallers, and Turcopoles fought valiantly, as long as their strength endured; they then sent to the king for aid. But the exhausted infantry retired to the summit of the hill, and refused to fight; a part of them flung away their arms, and surrendered to the heathens. The king, therefore, ordered the knights to encamp where they were, and they pitched, without any order, around the holy cross. The Turks still showered arrows on them: the bishop of Ptolemaïs was killed by one, and dying he delivered the sacred wood to his brother-bishop. The king gave orders to renew the fight; the count of Tripolis, at his command, prepared to fall on the foe, but his knights crying "Save himself who can, the battle is at an end, and even flight is impossible," rushed down the rocks against the troops of Faki-ed-deen, (*Teacher of Religion*), prince of Hama, who opened to let them pass, and then again closed their ranks. Raymond, Balian of Ibelim, Rainald of Sidon, and the son of the prince of Antioch, thus escaped to Tyre; the Moslems rushed on the infantry, precipitated them down the side of the hill, slew some, made prisoners of others. The king, Raynald of Chatillon, the master of the Temple, and all the remaining knights, preferred captivity to immediate death. The holy cross became the prey of the Moslems.

Saladin received his captives in the anti-chamber of his tent, which was not yet entirely set up, and all but Raynald of Chatillon experienced courtesy. He desired the king to be seated, and gave him, as

he was fatigued, a cooling drink. When Guy, after having drunk, reached the cup to Raynald, the sultan desired the interpreter to say to him, "It is *thou*, and not *I*, who givest him this drink; I will have nought to do with the wretch;" for, according to the custom of the East, whoever gives his prisoner meat or drink, loses all right to injure him. All the rest were led away and given refreshments; they were then brought back to the sultan's tent, and Saladin addressing himself to Raynald reminded him of all the injuries he had done the Moslems, and his abuse of their prophet. He then gave him the option of instant death, or conversion to Islam. Raynald boldly declared that he would live and die in the faith of Christ; the sultan drew his sabre, and gave him with it a deep cut on the shoulder, and the Turks who were present instantly despatched him The king and his knights were assured of safety; but the Templars and Hospitallers, as being the sworn foes of Islam, were beheaded on refusing to abjure their faith. Saladin gave orders to all who had any of these knights in their hands, to put them to death in like manner; then fearing that his soldiers might not be zealous and disinterested enough to part with their hopes of ransom, he offered fifty pieces of gold for every Templar or Hospitaller that should be brought to him: two hundred knights were led before him, and instantly decapitated, for few were base enough to deny their faith.

An oriental historian who was present says, that Saladin sat with a smiling countenance viewing these

executions, while the air of the victims was melancholy and dejected. The army was drawn up in battle-array, and the emirs stood in two ranks. Some of the executioners cut off the heads with a degree of dexterity which called for applause; several refused to act, others got those who were by them to act for them. It is thus that the feelings of nature will always show themselves.

Thanksgivings were ordered to be put up at Damascus, and the sultan wrote on that occasion as follows: "Not our might, but their own sins have prepared the overthrow of the Christians. The cross is fallen into our hands, round which they fluttered like the moth round the light, under whose shadow their hearts assembled, in which they boldly trusted as in a wall,—the cross, the centre and leader of their pride, their superstition, and their tyranny."

CONQUESTS OF SALADIN.

THE citadel of Tiberias surrendered the next day, and Saladin sent the countess and her sons with rich gifts to Tripolis. He encamped at the well of Sephoria, and the following day appeared before the walls of Ptolemaïs, which opened its gates to him. The country, from Mount Carmel to Joppa, was covered with the Turkish horsemen; their ravages extended to Samaria and Jericho, and they nowhere encountered resistance. Malek-el-adel led the troops of Egypt into the south. Joppa, and all

the towns but Ascalon and Gazaris, a fortress of the Templars, submitted; the people all fled to Jerusalem, and the numerous carcasses of the slain infected the air. The sultan led his squadrons into the territory of Tripolis, whose count Raymond had suddenly died; like locusts they spread over and wasted the entire country, and soon Tyre and Tripolis alone remained to the Christians. In August the whole army of the infidels encamped before Ascalon; the few knights who were there defended it bravely, and Saladin fearing a protracted siege, brought king Guy from Damascus, whither he had sent him with the other prisoners, and offered him his own liberty, and that of his brother the bishop of Lidda, if he effected the surrender of Ascalon. The king called some of his knights out of the town, and told them if they thought the town able to hold out, not to surrender it for the sake of one man; but that if they did not, it would be better to give it up at once, while by so doing they might free himself and his brother. The city accordingly surrendered, Saladin agreeing to release twelve more of his prisoners of rank, to be selected by the king, to allow forty days for the inhabitants to dispose of their immoveable property, to give a safe conduct to them with their moveable goods as far as Tripolis, and permission for a hundred families to continue to reside in Ascalon. The liberation of the king was to be deferred till the following March, as Saladin feared that his presence in Jerusalem would impede him in his designs on that city.

All the remaining towns and castles now surrendered; among the rest Carac, after having endured a blockade of two years. The sultan, to testify his admiration of the valour of its defenders, made them rich presents, gave them a safe conduct, and purchased and restored the wives and children of such as had been obliged to sell them for food during the blockade.

The number of slaves, we may observe, made in the capture of such towns as resisted, was considerable, for, when a place was taken by storm, such of the women and children as were not fallen the victims of the fury of the conquerors, were reduced to slavery. The historian Ibn-al-Athir relates as follows: "I had at Aleppo a slave, who was a Christian woman, taken at Jaffa, who had a child a year old. This child having fallen one day and cut its face, the mother began to weep most bitterly; and when I tried to pacify her by saying that the injury her child had sustained did not signify, she replied, 'It is not on account of this child I weep, but for the calamities which we have experienced. I had six brothers, all of whom have perished; I had a husband, and two sisters, and I know not what is become of them.' This is the case of one person only; but several others had experienced the same misfortune. I saw another day at Aleppo, a Christian slave, accompanying her master to the house of a neighbour; another woman appears suddenly at the door, the first gives a loud cry, they embrace one another affectionately, then sit down, and begin

to talk. They were two sisters, who had been reduced to slavery, and brought, without knowing it, to the same town."

It may excite surprise to see the whole country thus reduced in a few months; but that surprise will cease when we consider the state of the population. The Latins were always few in comparison with the rest of the inhabitants, the great bulk of whom were Moslems; and the Oriental Christians hated the sway of their Latin brethren much more than that of the infidels. When, therefore, the flower of the Latins fell at Hittin, none remained to oppose the triumphant Saladin, and, as we have seen, town after town opened its gates.

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

SALADIN was anxious, if possible, to obtain possession of the Holy City, without injuring it. He offered most favourable terms on condition of a surrender, if it was not effectually relieved against the Pentecost of the following year; and when these terms were refused, he is said to have sworn that he never would take it otherwise than by force. Balian of Ibelim, who had become his prisoner at Berytus, and to whom he had given his liberty, now commanded at Jerusalem. He had sworn never to bear arms against the sultan, and had been permitted, when he gave up his castle of Ibelim, to conduct his family to Jerusalem, under condition of his not stopping there more than one night; but the citizens pressed him to

stay and take the command, and the patriarch assuring him that it was his duty to protect his fellow Christians in preference to keeping his oath to a heathen, and offering to absolve him from it, Balian consented to remain. He sent to inform Saladin of the necessity he was under of being false to his engagement, and to beg of him a safe conduct for his wife and children to Tripolis; the generous sultan was satisfied with his excuses, and granted the protection required.

Moslems of all ages, even the women and children, poured into the camp of Saladin, desirous to enter the holy city in his train. The hills between it and Ascalon, which so often had resounded to the hymns of triumph of the warriors of the Cross returning from victorious conflict with the heathen, were now covered by the numerous troops of Turks and Saracens, who advanced with confidence to the assault of Jerusalem, and on the 20th September the host of Saladin encamped on the west of the city, from the tower of David to the gate of St. Stephen. The city was filled with women and children, who had fled to it for refuge; only two of its knights were remaining since the battle of Hittin, and the sultan reckoned that a surrender might be effected by negotiation. But he was deceived in his expectation; the inhabitants would listen to no terms; the priests and monks put on armour, and fought with the knights and archers. The old men, women, and children passed the day in prayer and processions; continual sallies gave the besiegers no rest. On the eighth day of the siege, Saladin removed his forces to the north side of

the city, where the first crusaders had assailed it. The walls were battered by machines and thrown down by mines; the Turkish troops boldly advanced to the storm, the courage of the Christians gave way, and neither duty nor money could induce any to attempt the defence of the breach during the night. Next day those of more generous mind required Balian to lead them out against the foe, that they might die in the defence of the city which they could not save, but the majority urged the queen, the patriarch, and Balian to negotiate with Saladin for a surrender. Balian, therefore, repaired to the sultan, offering to give up the city on condition of the inhabitants being allowed to retire with their moveable property. To this the sultan returned no immediate answer, and Balian was put off till the following day. Meantime the machines were employed throughout the night against the town, and a large portion of one of the towers was thrown down. In the morning a solemn procession of the clergy went round the walls, praying to God and the Virgin for deliverance, and the women of rank, as a mark of humility, cut off and cast away their long hair, and set their daughters naked up to the necks in tubs of cold water on Mount Calvary. But all availed not to save, for "Our Lord Jesus Christ," says the historian, "would not listen to any prayer that they made, for the filth, the luxury, and the adultery, which were in the city, did not suffer prayer or supplication to ascend before God."

Saladin, when he admitted Balian, would at first

hear of nothing but unconditional surrender. At length, moved by his entreaties, and by his representations that the Christians, if driven to despair, would massacre their Moslem prisoners, their own wives and children, and destroy the city, the sultan, having been assured by the ministers of his religion, that under such circumstances his oath was not binding, said, "For the love of God, and to gratify you, sir knight, they may keep their property, but their persons must be mine; these, however they may ransom." He then fixed the ransom at twenty byzants for each man, and ten for each woman and child. Balian remonstrated, and Saladin, saying he would consider the matter, dismissed him for that day. On his return to the town, the patriarch and people seeing no remedy, gave him full powers to treat; and the Hospitallers agreed to employ for the ransom of the people the treasure of the king of England which was in their hands. When Balian went out to the camp next day, he found the sultan all mildness, and only anxious for the ransom, that he might not disappoint his emirs and soldiers, who had reckoned on a rich booty; and the ransom was fixed at ten byzants for each man, five for each woman, and one for each child. Seven thousand of the poor were to be freed for thirty thousand byzants, and forty days were given for the sale of property and departure from the town.

On the 2nd of October these terms were proclaimed by the heralds in the streets of Jerusalem, amidst the loud cries of the poorer sort

against the patriarch and the knights, whom they compared to Judas Iscariot. On the same day the sultan made his solemn entry in great pomp; his banner was planted on the walls, and all the gates were closed except that of Joppa, through which the Moslems entered who came to purchase their property from the Christians. The churches were all, except that of the Resurrection, converted into mosks; four camel's loads of rose-water were brought from Damascus to purify the Temple. The bells were broken up, the crosses were all pulled from off the churches with ropes, and dragged through the mire, to the horror of the Christians, whom the numbers alone of the Moslems prevented from taking arms to avenge the insult.

Thus far sultan Saladin betrayed the intolerance of the zealous Moslem, but the nobleness and generosity of his subsequent conduct to the vanquished, are ascertained by the unanimous testimony of the Christian writers. He protected them from every injury and insult of his soldiery, and alleviated by every means in his power the difficulty of their paying their ransom. His emirs imitated his generosity; Malek-el-Adel begged from the sultan a thousand Christian prisoners, and immediately set them at liberty; the emirs of Edessa and Beer claimed the Syrian Christians as born on their territories, and treated them with equal beneficence. At the suit of the patriarch Saladin gave liberty to seven hundred of the poor, and to an equal number at that of Balian, and then, "Since," said he, "my brother Malek-el-Adel and

the patriarch and Balian have exercised mercy, I will do the same," and he commanded that on the following day the gate of St. Lazarus should remain open from sunrise till sunset, and that all the poor Christians who presented themselves at it should be allowed to go free, if on being searched they were found to have no property about them. Eleven thousand still remained, and the sultan desired the patriarch and Balian, who had offered themselves as hostages for their ransom, not to teaze him any farther. To the wives and daughters of those who had fallen or been captured at Hittin, he showed the greatest kindness; he granted to their prayers and tears the liberty of their fathers and husbands, and he gave rich presents to those who had been made widows and orphans. The care of the noble Saladin extended to the Christians even after they had left the city. Turkish escorts accompanied them to protect them, and these warriors imitated the humanity of their prince; when they saw any of the Christians weary and faint with the journey, they made their servants dismount and put them on their horses, and they frequently took the children up before them on their own war-steeds. The Moslem inhabitants of the country generously supplied the Christians with provisions on the road.

When they entered the Christian territory, they experienced a sad change, no mildness or compassion was there shown for their afflictions. They were refused admittance into the towns, and robbed of the property which the noble sultan had left them. A

part were forced to proceed to Antioch, the remainder, after enduring the extreme of distress, were suffered to enter the town. Queen Sibylla, as she was preparing to sail for Europe, was deprived of her ship by the Tyrians, and forced to go to Antioch with the patriarch and the knights of the two orders.

Those who had gone from Ascalon to Alexandria were protected by the governor of that city, and suffered to remain there during the winter; but the Italian sailors and traders took no compassion on them, and would give a passage in their ships only to those who could pay. The generous Moslem supplied the poor Christians with all necessaries, he would not allow the seamen to leave the harbour till they had taken an oath to convey the poor to where they carried the rich, and he threatened to take exemplary vengeance for any ill-treatment they might receive.

It is not our desire to exalt the Mohammedans at the expense of the Christians; but these facts, all of which are related by the Christians themselves, testify strongly for the degeneracy of the latter, and for the benefit which the fall of their power was to the Holy Land, over which they were no longer worthy to have dominion. Neither will we, like the contemporaries, view in the destruction of their empire a visible and extraordinary interference of Providence for the chastisement of vice. The vices of the Pullani, doubtless, were great; and as is the nature of vice, produced national weakness; but the conservation of the Christian empire in Syria had been hitherto

owing to the divisions among its enemies; and it was manifest that its end must come, when they were united under one sceptre, and, as the following crusade will shew, no aid from the West would have sufficed to withhold it. It experienced the fate allotted to feebleness opposed to strength; the fate of every state where a small dominant class of different origin, habits, and creed, lords it over a numerous population whom it insults and oppresses. Permanent power can only be based on justice; transitoriness is the characteristic of dominion acquired and maintained by injustice. "I have seen the wicked," says the Psalmist, "in great power and spreading himself like a green bay-tree, yet he passed away, and lo! he was not." A reflection still more true of empires than of individuals.

THIRD CRUSADE.*

PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW CRUSADE.

THOUGH the passion for pilgrimage had greatly decreased in Europe, and the contempt and aversion with which the degenerate Pullani of Syria were regarded was considerable, yet when intelligence of the battle of Hittin, and of the loss of the Holy City, arrived in the West, it awoke a strong feeling of regret and indignation. As Christians and as knights, the warriors of Europe felt their honour wounded, by the reflection that they had suffered the holy places to be prophaned by the heathen; and they burned to wipe away the disgrace. It was also recollected by many who had made the pilgrimage, how much its dangers were alleviated by the country being in the hands of their brethren in the faith, and the valiant knights of the Temple and the Hospital, being always in readiness to escort pilgrims to the

* The principal authorities for the third crusade are the English historians, Hoveden, Brompton, Matthew Paris, Hemingford, William of Newburgh, Ralph of Coggeshall, &c. particularly Vinisauf, who accompanied king Richard I. Also Arnold of Lubeck, Otto of St. Blaise, Godfrey the monk, &c. the Greek Nicetas, and the Arabs, Boha-ed-deen, Ibn-al-athir, &c.

Jordan and the sanctified places of the land. The trading cities of the South feared that their commerce might suffer by the overthrow of the Christian dominion, and they were anxious for its re-establishment. Thus piety, honour, and interest, conspired to excite the West to pour itself once more in arms upon Asia.

So early as the year 1181, the kings of France and England had, on the distress of the Holy Land being represented to them, promised relief. In 1184 and 1185, the patriarch, Heraclius of Jerusalem, the archbishop, William of Tyre, and the master of the Hospital, had implored in person the aid of these monarchs, and they had promised to send both men and money. When the Holy City had been lost, the pope wrote to the Christian princes in the most pressing terms, and the prelates and princes of Syria, by their ambassadors, displayed so vividly the need of speedy succour, that it became manifest that farther delay would be equivalent to total inaction.

Henry II. of England, and Philip Augustus of France, met on the 13th January 1188, at the usual place of conference between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy. This was a venerable elm-tree not far from the town of Gisors, whose trunk was nearly eight fathoms in girth, and beneath whose capacious shade, seats of soft and grassy turf offered commodious resting-places to all who passed that way. Here the monarchs, more speedily than could have been expected, put an end to all enmity and dispute between them, and assumed the Cross.

Their example was followed by the principal vassals of the crown of France; and it was agreed, that for distinction, crosses of different colours should be worn by the different nations; those of the French were to be red, the English were to have theirs white, and the Flemings green. The enthusiasm which was awakened almost equalled that exhibited in the first crusade; monks abandoned their cells, and priests their churches; the peasant and the citizen were alike eager to take arms; the mother, the wife, and the sister, stimulated the hesitating; wool and a distaff were sent in derision to those who preferred their home to the dangers and glories of the war against the infidels. But it was the martial spirit and the genius of chivalry which now called the warriors to the field, and not the simple enthusiasm which had animated the companions of Godfrey of Bouillon.

The Cross was assumed in Germany by the emperor, Frederic Red-Beard *(Barbarossa)*, who had already visited the Holy Land in the former crusade, and the effect of the preaching of the cardinal of Albano in that country almost equalled that formerly produced by the eloquence of St. Bernard..

At the diet held at Mentz, the emperor directed that no one should join the army who was ignorant or incapable of the use of arms, and who had not at least three marks of silver, or the means of supplying himself with the necessaries for an expedition of two years; for the ill consequences of the crowds of poor who had accompanied the former armies were now apparent. The kings of France and England im-

posed on their subjects, with few exceptions, a tax of ten per cent. on their incomes and their moveable property, under the name of a Saladin-tithe, with the pretext of making the rich enable the poor to perform their duty to their Saviour, by bearing arms in his cause. In the regulations made by the king of England, all gaming was prohibited among his subjects, and all luxury of dress and food, lest God, it was said, might be provoked to withdraw his aid from their holy enterprise; and the strictest temperance and chastity were enjoined on the crusaders, who, to avoid the occasion of offence, were not to be permitted to take any women with them.

But the arms which were to combat the infidels were soon turned against each other. Richard earl of Poitou, son of the king of England, engaged in a feud with his vassals, the counts of Angoulême, Lusignan, and others; and the count of Toulouse, thinking this a good occasion for avenging an old grudge on the count of Poitou, seized and plundered some Poitevin traders, who were travelling through his territory. He also cast into prison two English knights who came to Toulouse on their return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Richard collected an army, and ravaged the lands of the count of Toulouse, who complained to the king of France of this violation of the treaty of Gisors, by which it was determined that all feuds and hostilities should cease between the two kings and their subjects till their return from the crusade.* Philip embraced the cause

* During this war Philip cut down the fine old elm of Gisors, to the great regret of every one who had beheld it. Different rea-

of the count of Toulouse, and on king Henry's refusing satisfaction, he led his troops into Berri and took several castles. This occasioned a war between the two monarchs, which continued till the death of the king of England in 1189, brought on in a great measure, it was said, by the ingratitude of his son Richard, who, after engaging him in the war, had joined the king of France against him.

DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR.

WHILE the kings of France and England were thus, negligent of their vow, engaged in hostilities with each other, the emperor of Germany had all his thoughts turned to the making of the necessary preparations for his expedition to the East. At a diet held at Nürnburg he made every effort to establish peace among the princes and knights of the empire, and he obliged the duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, whose unquiet temper he knew, to quit the empire and repair to the court of his father-in-law, the king of England, for the space of three years. He despatched envoys to the king of Hungary, the emperor of the East, and the Turkish sultan of Iconium, to demand a free passage through their dominions, and a market for provisions; from all these potentates he received

sons were assigned for this act; but it probably arose from resentment, because, during a three-day truce, which was made for treating of peace, the king of England and his knights sheltered themselves from the sun beneath its shade, while the French king and his attendants were all the day exposed to his burning rays on the open plain, and were mocked at by those who sat beneath the elm.

friendly answers, and their ambassadors came to Nürnburg and solemnly swore to the treaties. He had already sent to announce to Saladin the cessation of the friendly relations which had previously existed between them, and the sultan had replied with dignity and spirit, setting at nought his threats, but offering, for the sake of peace, to restore the true cross, to release all his prisoners, to put all things relating to the Christians in the Holy Land in the state in which they had been previous to the invasion of it by the Franks, and to give no interruption to pilgrimage from the West; provided the Christians would resign the three cities of Antioch, Tyre, and Tripolis, which they still held. The Eastern writers confess that great fear had fallen upon the Moslems when they heard that the king of the Allemans was on his way to Asia, and they gave up Syria for lost.

In the Lent of the year 1189, a diet was assembled at Ratisbon, and all those who had taken the cross appeared in arms and prepared to set forth. On St. George's day, the army of the crusaders was in motion. The emperor, accompanied by his son, Frederic duke of Suabia, and several princes and prelates, proceeded by water to Passau, and thence to Vienna. After having been magnificently entertained there during some days, by Leopold duke of Austria, he advanced to Presburg, on the confines of Hungary, where he halted for four days, to give the several divisions of the army time to join him. He here kept his Whitsuntide, and held his last council with the princes of the empire on public affairs,

appointing his eldest son Henry to administer the government during his absence. He also established regulations for the maintenance of discipline and order in the army, and he obliged all the pilgrims to swear implicit obedience to these rules.

On the Wednesday of Whit-week the army, thirty thousand in number, passed the Hungarian frontier, and proceeded to Gran, where king Bela and his queen, and a thousand knights, awaited the arrival of the emperor, and gave him a most brilliant and hospitable reception. The duke of Suabia espoused the daughter of the Hungarian monarch. The pilgrims from Bohemia here joined the army; pilgrims gradually came in from all sides. A numerous body of Hungarians prepared to march to Asia, and the emperor, on reviewing his troops after the passage of the Danube and the Save, found them to amount to a hundred thousand combatants, one half of whom were horsemen. At Belgrade, the first town of Servia, the emperor held a court of justice to punish violations of the established regulations; two nobles of Alsatia were beheaded, and several other pilgrims severely punished. A tournament was also celebrated at this place, and the emperor bestowed the honour of knighthood upon sixty esquires.

The governor of Servia visited the emperor to assure him of his friendly disposition towards the pilgrims; but as they passed through the country they found a striking contrast to the treatment which they had experienced in Hungary. The Servians continually infested them with arrows shot from

ambush, and the pilgrims in return hung as many of them as fell into their hands. At length they came to the river Morava, and the emperor indulged his army with seven days of repose in a plain by the town of Branditza. The pilgrims from Metz, and those from Hungary, came up here; and king Bela, who had accompanied his subjects, took his final leave of the emperor, after having bestowed on him several valuable presents. For greater security, in passing through a country whose inhabitants were so hostile, it was here resolved to form the army into four divisions; the first to be composed of the Hungarians and Bohemians, as being best acquainted with the people and their language; the second to be led by the duke of Suabia and the bishop of Ratisbon; the third to be under the bishops of Würtzburg, Basel, and Liege, and the fourth to be commanded by the emperor in person. In this order they proceeded, though continually harassed by the Servians, of whom the emperor hung a great number, and having ascertained from some of them that they had been instigated by the governor of Branditza, he returned and burned that town.

On entering the territory of Nissa, the pilgrims, to their great joy, found a friendly reception; Stephen Neeman, the Great Supan or prince of this part of Servia, and his brothers, had thrown off their allegiance to the court of Byzantium, and they sought to gain the protection of Frederic, whose vassals they offered to become, if he would defend them against the Greeks; in which case they would assist him

against all his foes, and farther procure him the support of their friends, Calopeter and Assan, who had made themselves independent in Thrace and Bulgaria. Frederic gave them a gracious reception, and accepted their present of provisions, but he declined assisting them in war, in breach of his treaty with the Byzantine emperor.

After a halt of six days, the army set forward, and passed the frontier of Bulgaria. In this hilly region they found again every thing adverse, the passes of the mountains were barricadoed with walls and palisades, and a combat was to be maintained at each passage; the valleys were held by the Bulgarians, and none of them were to be gone through without fighting, and the enemy when routed, fled to the woods and hills, and resumed their position before the next division of the crusaders came up. The peaceful part of the inhabitants left their dwellings and carried away their property, and when the army reached the town of Stralitzium, they found it deserted and empty of provisions. In this town the emperor made new regulations for the preservation of order in the army; and the bishop of Würtzburg, by his command, warned the people against robbery and plunder, reminding them of the defeats brought on the children of Israel by the sin of Achan at Jericho. The intelligence of the pass of St. Basil, the last through which they had to go, being blocked up and guarded by the Greek troops, as well as by the Bulgarians, rendered the maintenance of strict discipline more necessary than ever, and the army was now ar-

ranged in five instead of four divisions. This danger however proved imaginary; no resistance was offered by the few Greek troops who were posted at the pass of St. Basil, and the army of the Cross defiled without impediment into the plains of Romania.

FREDERIC IN THE GREEK EMPIRE.

THE Grecian emperor at this time was Isaac Angelus, a weak superstitious prince, led by the dreams or the deceptions of an enthusiastic monk, named Dositheus, whom he had raised to the patriarchal dignity. Dositheus asserted to him that he had been assured by a vision, that the crusade was only a pretext, and that the real object of Frederic was to conquer the empire and to bestow it on the duke of Suabia; he named the gate, the Xylokersus, by the palace of the Blacherns, at which the emperor would attempt to enter the city, which gate Isaac had forthwith walled up, and he got ready a bow and arrows, with which he practised every day, that he might shoot the German emperor with his own hand, when he came to attack his capital.

Such being the state of mind of the Byzantine emperor, we need not be surprised that an envoy from him should have met the emperor Frederic on his entrance into Romania, bearing a letter which stated that the emperor Isaac had detained the count of Nassau, and the other ambassadors who had been sent to the imperial court as hostages, and that he farther demanded the duke of Suabia, and six other

lay and spiritual princes, as security for the peaceful conduct of the crusaders, as the only condition on which he would give them a free passage and a market in his dominions. He justified these demands by the information which he said he had received from the kings of France and England, and the duke of Branditza, of the real designs of the emperor, and on his knowledge of his friendship with the rebellious Great-supan of Servia. In this letter, which, like all those of the Byzantine court, was couched in haughty terms, the Grecian emperor adopted the highest titles for himself, and styled Frederic merely prince of Alemania. The German princes and knights were incensed beyond measure at the contents of this epistle, but the emperor contented himself with replying that he would not treat any farther till his ambassadors were set at liberty.

The measures adopted by the court of Byzantium to impede the crusaders were futile; the roads were barricadoed, and an army of mercenary troops was collected under the command of the emperor's nephew, the protostrator, Manuel Cametzes, and the Domestic of the West, Alexius Gidus, and sent to defend the frontiers. But the Germans made their way with little impediment to Philippopolis, which city they took possession of and fortified. The Armenians, of whom a great number dwelt in it and the neighbouring towns, were of the greatest service to them in supplying them with necessaries and with information. The duke of Suabia defeated a body of the Greek troops led by the protostrator in person,

the crusaders took the city of Berrhœa without meeting any opposition, and they collected such a quantity of booty, that an ox was sold for five-pence, and a ram for three-pence; the value of the gold and silver and rich stuffs which fell into their hands could not be estimated, and they wrote home the most joyful accounts of the blessings which God had bestowed on his faithful warriors.

At length, after the province of Philippopolis had been for two entire months in the hands of the crusaders, the emperor Isaac set the ambassadors at liberty, and sent with them the great chancellor John Ducas, and Andronicus Cantacuzenus, to treat of peace with the emperor Frederic. Yet in his letter he could not abstain from his usual insolence and rudeness; the bishop of Münster moved the princes to tears by the narrative of the sufferings of himself and his companions in the embassy, and informed them of the alliance concluded between the Greek emperor and Saladin, of the preparations made by the Greeks to destroy the crusaders in their passage over the strait, and of a sermon of the patriarch's, in which he promised forgiveness of sins to those who would aid in their destruction: the emperor therefore resolved on vigorous measures. When the Greek ambassadors were introduced, he, with mock courtesy, made not only them, but all their followers, cooks, grooms, and all, be seated. In this the ambassadors thought they discerned not merely a retorsion of the discourtesy of their emperor, who had let the German envoys deliver their message standing,

but a contempt of their nation in general. Frederic then raised his powerful voice, and dwelt on the presumption of Isaac in not giving him his proper title, a littleness into which even hostility had not betrayed his predecessor Manuel — expatiated on his superior dignity as emperor of the West over their master, who, he said, should style himself emperor of the Romanians, and not of the Romans, whose city they had abandoned. Then, in a milder tone, he added, to calm their visible fears, that it was not the custom of his country to exercise violence against ambassadors, and that he only required that all the property of which his ambassadors had been deprived should be returned. On this head they said they had no instructions, and they took their departure.

The emperor called a council of war to deliberate on what was now to be done, and whether it would be advisable to force their way over to Asia; but the princes in general were of opinion that, as it was so far in the year, the better plan would be to winter in Europe, and to pass over in the spring. As the army, if kept together, would be too burdensome to any one district, it was resolved to divide it. The greater part of the Hungarians, on learning this resolution, returned home, the emperor making no efforts to detain them, as he was of opinion that compulsive service was not grateful to God.

Philippopolis was assigned to the duke of Suabia, and the bishops of Liege, Münster, Passau, and Toul, and their troops. The emperor himself set out (Nov. 5) for Adrianople. On his march he met

no interruption from the Greek troops; clouds of smoke ascended to heaven from the towns and villages set on fire by the crusaders as they advanced, and the country was pillaged in a dreadful manner. Adrianople, though built at the conflux of the Hebrus and the Artiscus, and fortified by strong walls and towers, was deserted by the inhabitants at the approach of the Germans, and they entered on St. Cæcilia's day, and took possession of it. The war against the Greeks was now renewed with the utmost vigour; the duke of Suabia spread devastation far and wide; the city of Demotica, whither many of the people of Adrianople had fled, was taken by assault, and its defenders slain, and the quantity of provisions found in it sufficed the entire army for ten weeks. The duke of Suabia extended his ravages to the towns of the sea-coast. The animosity against the Greek emperor was inflamed by information given by some of the people of one of the towns which they took, that several wells had been poisoned by his orders, and vessels full of poisoned wine left where the pilgrims were expected to come. A letter also arrived from queen Sibylla, in which she informed the emperor that Saladin had sent to Constantinople six hundred bushels of poisoned flour for the destruction of the crusaders.

In the beginning of the following year (1190) the emperor ordered the entire army to assemble at Adrianople. After a toilsome march of twenty-three days, the troops from Philippopolis, which town they had destroyed, arrived on the sixth of February.

When tidings of this junction of the pilgrim-army reached Constantinople, the people were filled with terror, and they earnestly pressed the emperor to conclude a durable peace. Isaac, whose unsteadiness and want of faith had hitherto broken off all treaties, was obliged now to think in earnest of accommodation. Frederic on his part was anxious for peace with the Greeks; his advanced age made him impatient of delay, lest he might not live to free the Holy City, and he knew that without the aid of the Greeks he should find it difficult to cross over to Asia. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the German emperor bound himself to pass over at Gallipolis, instead of coming to Constantinople, to march his troops along the highway, and to suffer no injury to be done to the vineyards and corn-fields on the route. The Grecian emperor engaged to restore all the property of the ambassadors, and to make good all their losses; to furnish provisions on the road, and ships sufficient for passing over the army in two turns, and finally, to give hostages, the chief of whom should remain in the hands of the emperor Frederic till he was safely arrived at Philadelphia. This treaty was solemnly sworn to on both sides, and the emperor Isaac sent the hostages without delay, accompanied by rich presents. At this time arrived also an embassy from Az-ed-deen, sultan of Iconium, who had lately abdicated, to assure the emperor of the good feeling of himself and his son and successor, Malek Shah, towards him, and of their impatience for his arrival. The crusaders now

thought all their sufferings at an end, and looked forward to a safe and unmolested passage to Syria. The emperor made them renew their oath of obedience to the rules of discipline, and he sent on before some intelligent men to examine the road to Gallipolis. The weather was at this time uncommonly cold and stormy.

On the first of March, two days after the arrival of the Grecian hostages, the duke of Suabia set out with his division from Adrianople, and on the following day the emperor left that city. The weather still continued cold and rigorous; dreadful storms, accompanied by violent rains, which destroyed the roads, came on; the swelling of the rivers rendered the passage of them extremely difficult and hazardous; provisions and forage failed; for, from the state of the roads, the people of the country, however well inclined, could not approach them. Many of the Greeks who followed the army for the sake of traffic, were found frozen to death in the fields. After a painful march of three weeks the army reached Gallipolis, where they found fifteen hundred transports, and twenty-seven ships of war, ready to carry them across the Hellespont. Next day the duke of Suabia, and his troops, passed over; the passage of the entire army occupied six days, and not a single life was lost. On the last day, the Wednesday of Easter week, the emperor ascended a ship, amidst the sound of trumpets, pipes, and other instruments from the Greek vessels, and landed on the coast of Asia. "My brethren," said he, as he stepped ashore, "be strong and courageous, for all the land is in our hand."

The army which now entered Asia numbered, on the lowest computation, eighty-two thousand fighting men, and among their leaders were one archbishop, seven bishops, two dukes, three marquesses, and nineteen counts; and discipline, and the presence of a man of the emperor's talents and authority, rendered it the most formidable host that had entered Asia since the time of the first great passage.

FREDERIC IN ASIA.

On the following day (March 29) the march began along the sea-coast, leaving the site of Troy to the left, and then striking more into the interior. The carriages had all been left behind at Gallipolis, and the baggage and provisions were placed on the backs of beasts of burden. As they ascended the steep and rugged mountain paths, the burdens slipped continually off the beasts, and great difficulties were encountered in passing the swollen and rapid rivers which crossed their route. They proceeded by Thyatira and Sardes, and on the 21st April they arrived at Philadelphia, where the Grecian hostages were set at liberty. The inhabitants of the country had hitherto shown themselves friendly disposed towards the pilgrims; parties of robbers occasionally annoyed them, but their boldness was well chastised by the arms of the knights. At Philadelphia, the pilgrims unprovokedly destroyed the corn-fields at the gate of the city, and offered violence to the Greek traders. The inhabitants having taken arms and killed some

of the pilgrims, some of the leaders were for storming the town in revenge, but the prudent emperor restrained them, and assured the governor of his amity. As the army was afterwards climbing the steep hills of Lydia, five hundred Philadelphian horsemen fell on the rear-guard, but the emperor speedily collected a body of knights and drove them off with loss. At Laodicea their reception was very different from that experienced there formerly by the army of the bishop of Frisingen, and they halted for some days, and purchased cattle and provisions for their passage through the barren and desert realm of the sultan of Iconium.

On entering the territory of the Turks, Frederic renewed his injunctions against robbery and plunder, and the cattle and tents of a Turkman horde which had fled out of fear to the mountains were left untouched. The inhabitants on their part seemed disposed to be friendly and brought in provisions, but the emperor soon learned that Saladin had prevailed on the sultan not to adhere to his engagements with the Christians.

Malek Shah had collected an immense number of Turkman horsemen, and they proceeded to harass the pilgrims in their usual mode, which was favoured so much by the nature of the country; they suddenly rushed from the narrow glens of the mountains, their archers were concealed in every wood, they occupied the passes and defiles, and the pilgrims were incessantly annoyed by their attacks. But the sultan's ambassadors, who were still with the emperor, assured him that these were nothing but bands of

robbers, whose destruction would give great pleasure to their master. The emperor, therefore, was only anxious to guard against their attacks; he took himself the charge of the rear; the active duke of Suabia led the advance guard, and the unarmed and the baggage were placed in the centre, well defended on the flanks by knights and archers.

A numerous body of Turks having set themselves one day to impede, by rolling down waggons full of stones, the army on its way over a hill at the entrance of a narrow pass, the emperor put in practice the following stratagem. When he heard their trumpets and kettle-drums sounding the onset, he divided his army, placing a part of it in ambush, concealing a select party of knights in his royal tent which he left standing; and having, for the greater deception, caused a great smoke to be raised, he made with the remainder of the army as if he was about to take another road.* The Turks, leaving their advantageous position, descended into the plain, eager to plunder the camp; suddenly the knights rushed from the tent and slaughtered them, and at the same time the rest of the army fell on those who still remained on the hill. Five hundred of the Turks were slain, and the army pursued its march. On the third day they again engaged and defeated the Turks, and took their camp well stored with provisions.

But famine soon began to make its appearance in the Christian camp, and the emperor having had one of two Turks who had been just taken brought be-

* See vol. i. p. 269.

fore him, offered him his life if he would lead the army by the shortest and most commodious way to the fruitful part of the country. The Turk feigned willingness, and directed them to leave the road which they were on and to turn to the left, by which they would in two days reach the plain. His treacherous advice was unhappily followed, and instead of making for the sea-coast by Satalia, the crusaders entered the heart of the territories of the sultan of Iconium. The Turkish ambassadors at this time prevailed on the emperor to let them go forward to dispose the emir of Philomelium in his favour, and Frederic sent with them a knight named Godfrey. But the knight was cast into prison, and the ambassadors, pretending that the same was their own case, had the boldness to send for the things they had left behind. Frederic, though aware of their falsehood, disdained to take any notice of it.

The first day's march led through a country abounding in flocks and herds; and on the second day, from the top of a mountain, they descried the plain. But the mountain was steep, and in the descent several of the horses and beasts of burden were lost, and the attacks of the Turks were carried on with redoubled activity, though they were always obliged to yield to the valour of the crusaders. The sultan sent to offer peace for a large sum of money, but the brave old emperor replied in derision, that he would give them one small piece of coin, provided they would share it fairly among them, so that no one should have more or less than another.

As the pilgrims drew near to Philomelium, a countless multitude of Turks came against them. The engagement began in the evening, and before the night five thousand Turks lay on the plain. The Christians had to fight their way the following morning, and on the third day their guide pointed out to them the banner of the sultan, and bade them mark the sound of his trumpets. The knights were now obliged to slaughter their horses and asses for food; many of the people, impelled by hunger, went over to the enemy and abjured their faith; the more pious, when quite exhausted, divided their property among the more vigorous, and stretching themselves on the ground in the form of a Cross, awaited martyrdom. On the day of Pentecost alone the army halted. The emperor held a council of war in his tent, and the appearance of those who attended it sufficiently testified the state to which the army was reduced. Those knights who used on such solemn occasions to bathe and perfume themselves, and put on garments of silk and fur, appeared in tarnished armour, and with visages haggard with want and privation. But their courage and their reliance on God were still strong, and the bishop of Würtzburg in an animated harangue reminded them how, after the effusion of the Holy Spirit on this day, the faith had been spread by the courage and the constancy of the martyrs and confessors. He also called to their recollection those passages of Scripture which told how one had put a thousand, and two ten thousand to flight, and exhorted them to perseverance. The em-

peror, in a noble discourse, supported his arguments, and all present raised in Suabian fashion a loud song of war, and repaired to their tents to eat their frugal meal.

Early next morning the mass was sung, the warriors received the holy sacrament, and in battle array they awaited the onfall of the Turks. As these refused the battle, and only attacked in their usual desultory manner, the emperor divided his army into three corps; the first was led by the bishops of Würtzburg and Münster, then followed the two others parallel to each other, that on the right commanded by Frederic himself, that on the left by the duke of Suabia; the unarmed were placed between them, defended by knights and archers. In this order the army forced its way through the squadrons of the enemy, and Malek Shah himself was borne down by the lance of a knight, and narrowly escaped captivity. The reluctance of the sultan to give battle was ascribed by an Armenian knight, who passed over to the Christians, to the counsel of one of his emirs, who, by producing the arm of a Turk, which one of the pilgrims had struck off at a blow, gave him ocular demonstration of the prodigious strength of the German knights, and still more to the recollection of a troop of white knights who had hitherto spread terror and confusion in the Turkish hordes. In these knights, the crusaders recognised St. George and his comrades, who had at Antioch scattered the heathens of Kerboga; and an honourable and veracious knight asserted that he had seen the white troop, and offered to prove his truth by the ordeal of hot iron.

The following day, to their great joy, they reached a marshy piece of water, at which they refreshed themselves; the knights killed their horses and asses, and dressed their flesh at fires made of their saddles, clothes, and arms. As they were now near Iconium, a council of war was held; some were for passing by that city as rapidly as possible, others for making an attack on it, and conquering or dying. The last opinion prevailed, the pilgrims prayed for aid to God and St. George, the emperor vowed a church to the saint, and on the following day, the army having proceeded slowly on account of the number of the sick and feeble, and being harassed by the continual assaults of the Turks, encamped in the evening in a park of the sultan's, before the city of Iconium.

ATTACK ON ICONIUM.

ICONIUM, now called Koniah, lies in a plain enclosed on all sides but the east, by snow-capped mountains. To the east the plain extends as far as the eye can reach. It abounds in water, having numerous springs, and a copious river, which pours itself into a lake. Gardens stretch along the hills for some miles from the town, which was defended by a strong wall, and on a hill in its centre rose the citadel. It was well situated for defence, and the gardens afforded great advantages for ambush.

The night spent by the pilgrims before Iconium was stormy, and the incessant rain gave them no rest in their tents. In the morning the emperor divided the efficient part of the army into two corps, the one,

under the duke of Suabia, was destined to attack the town, the other, commanded by himself, to repel the attacks of the Turkish army; the clergy, the sick, and the helpless in general, were placed between the two arrays. Neither, however hard pressed, was to call on the other for aid. Every pilgrim who had provisions was directed to share with him who had not, as that night would either see them in possession of Iconium, or enjoying the bliss of Paradise. While the army was arranging itself for battle, ambassadors came from the sultan with offers of peace, but the emperor replied that he would hear of no terms so long as his envoy was detained, and he ordered the duke of Suabia to advance to the attack. Godfrey was immediately sent out of the city, but his presence did not stop the assault.

The duke of Suabia and his knights, though impeded by the wetness of the ground, drove the Turks before them; the archers mounted the garden-walls, and shot those who were in ambush. A hard conflict was sustained by the Turks at the gate of the town, and the Christian knights were forced to give back; but the duke of Suabia, with a loud voice, reminding them of their vow, they renewed their efforts, and after a conflict of six hours the Christians entered the city pellmell with the flying Turks. The sultan and his son Malek Shah, and the richest inhabitants, fled with their most valuable effects to the citadel. No age or sex was spared by the victors, the number of the slaughtered was dreadful, the booty gained was immense. The quantity of provisions, and the number

of horses, mules, and asses, which fell into the hands of the pilgrims, filled them with joy and thanksgiving.

The emperor met a more vigorous resistance; his knights were exhausted and nearly reduced to despair, and the prelates and clergy put on their stoles, and prepared themselves for certain death. The venerable emperor, who was in the centre, then cried aloud, "Why stand we here and grieve? Christ is victorious, Christ reigns, Christ commands. Come on, my mates in arms, who have left your homes to purchase heaven with your blood." Then giving spurs to his horse he charged the heathen, followed by his knights, and the foes were soon scattered as the dust before the wind. The victorious warriors joyfully entered the town, and joined their brethren in the siege of the citadel. Ambassadors soon came down from the sultan, excusing the conduct of himself and his son, imputing it to the influence of evil councillors and their dread of Saladin, and offering as many hostages as the emperor should demand. Frederic returned a mild answer; ten emirs, and ten other principal personages, whom he selected, were sent to him, and after an abode of but three days the crusaders left the city. They stayed four days longer in the park, during which time they were abundantly supplied with provisions, and they disposed of their superfluous beasts of burden. On the 26th of May they set out with joyful anticipations for Cilicia, but they were still harassed by the desultory attacks of the Turkish hordes.

DEATH OF FREDERIC.

On the fourth day of their march the pilgrims reached Larenda, the frontier town of the Turkish territory. After a halt of a few days, they entered on that of the Armenian princes, and were cheered by the sight of the crosses erected to mark out the lands belonging to the villages. The Turkish hostages now demanded their liberty, but it was refused, as hostilities had been continued on the road from Iconium, and they were brought prisoners to Antioch. Though the country through which they now passed, was friendly, and the inhabitants brought in provisions freely, the pilgrims found that their toils were by no means at an end. Their road lay over steep and barren mountains, and the petty princes of the country were too much under awe of Saladin to exert themselves openly in their favour. They were again reduced to feed on roots and plants, sickness spread among them, and the gallant bishops, who used to manage their war-steeds with such spirit and vigour, were now to be seen carried along in horse-litters.

On the 10th of June, the fourth day of their journey through the Armenian territory, the pilgrims, after a wearisome march over a steep precipitous mountain, came to the city of Seleucia, lying in a fruitful plain, through which the river Selef or Calycadnus flows. But as they were in the evening pitching their tents, their joy was converted into

sorrow by intelligence of the death of the brave and good old emperor, who had lost his life in the waves of the river. According to one account, as he was riding along its banks in the burning heat of the day, he felt a strong inclination to bathe in its transparent waters, and, contrary to the advice of those who were about him, he went into it and attempted to swim across, but his strength failing he was carried away by the current and drowned; others, with more probability say, that impatient of the delay caused by the beasts of burden crossing the narrow bridge, and anxious to get forward, he went to ride through the river, and was drowned in the waves. His death caused the utmost grief and consternation among the pilgrims, who placed all their confidence in his wisdom and valour.

On all occasions they had turned to him, says an old writer, as the plants to the sun; they now cried that fortune was departed from them, since the emperor, the father, the leader, was gone.

They proceeded under the guidance of the duke of Suabia, and on the ninth day after the death of the emperor they reached Antioch in safety. The viscera of the deceased monarch were here taken out, and with the flesh, which was separated from his bones by boiling in water, were interred before the high altar in St. Peter's cathedral. The duke of Suabia carried with him to Tyre, whither he shortly afterwards proceeded, the bones of his heroic sire, and gave them sepulture in that city. A portion of the disheartened pilgrims, neglectful of their vows, returned home by

sea from Antioch, or scattered themselves in various directions. The braver and more effective part joined, under the duke of Suabia, the Christian army then beleaguering Acre.

This was the last pilgrim-army which attempted to reach Syria by land, and its ill success proved the futility of such attempts, for it had every circumstance in its favour. It entered Asia at the best season of the year; it was composed solely of fighting men, and was led by the first man of his age, and one who, having already passed through Asia, was well acquainted with the nature of the country and the people. But the treachery of the Greeks, the constant and desultory warfare of the Turks, the barrenness and ruggedness of the country, were difficulties which even the genius of Frederic could not completely obviate; and the losses experienced, though not to be compared with those on former occasions, were such as to discourage all similar attempts. A pleasing feature in this expedition is the strict discipline maintained by the able and pious emperor, in which he appears to have been seconded by the good disposition of his people. "This people," writes an Armenian prince to Saladin, "maintain a strict discipline, so that whoever among them commits a crime is, without speech and answer, slaughtered like a sheep. Pleasure is so alien to them that they fly from, and even punish, those who are addicted to it. The cause of this rigour is their anxiety about Jerusalem. It also is true, that several among them had for a long time renounced all kind of clothing,

as being prohibited to them, and were only clad in their iron armour, till their leaders disapproved of it. Wonderful is their endurance of inconvenience, their equanimity, and their perseverance."

DEPARTURE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

In the autumn of the year 1189, Philip king of France, and Richard king of England, held each an assembly of his prelates and nobles, in which it was decided that all those who had taken the cross should assemble in arms at Vezelay in France, before the end of the ensuing Easter. Richard, having previously made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr St. Edmund, crossed the sea, and after Christmas held an interview with the French monarch, at the bridge of St. Remi, near Ronancourt. Various circumstances, however, occurring to delay their preparations, the two monarchs met again in the month of March at Dreux, and the rendezvous was appointed for the eighth day after the festival of St. John, without any fail.

As England had taken little share in the former crusades, the Jews, who dwelt in that country, had been hitherto safe from the effects of the zeal of the holy warriors. But religious fury, combined with motives of interest, now resolved to wreak its vengeance on that unhappy people. A great number of them dwelt at York, and on Palm Sunday the people assembled, menacing them with destruction. The

Jews took refuge in the castle, where the people besieged them; in vain the wretched children of Israel offered money to redeem their lives, no mercy was to be had. Inspired at length with courage by the discourse of a rabbi, they slew with their own hands their wives and children, flung their corpses out among the people, and then setting fire to the tower perished in the flames. The Jews had been already massacred at Norwich and other places. But the bishop of Ely, the chancellor and justiciary of the kingdom, hastened to York, and severely punished those who had been most forward in this persecution.

The king of England assembled a hundred and six large ships in the ports of his French and English dominions, which were ordered to sail round to Marseilles, to take the pilgrims on board; and five judges were appointed for the maintenance of order in this fleet, and a code of regulations for it was drawn up. According to this code whoever killed another during the voyage was to be tied to the corpse, and flung into the sea; if on land, was to be tied to it, and buried alive. Whoever drew a knife on another was to lose his hand; a blow of the fist was to be punished with ducking, and foul language by a payment of as many ounces of silver as there had been words uttered; thieves were to be close-shorn, pitch put on their head, and feathers shaken on it, and in that condition they were to be turned ashore at the first land the vessel came to.

The king of France visited, according to the cus-

tom, the abbey of St. Denis, and there received, from the hands of his uncle the archbishop of Rheims, the pilgrim-staff and wallet, and took with his own hand two silken banners, which waved over the relics of the saint, and two oriflammes, embroidered with crosses of gold, to be his protection in his pilgrimage. Having then provided for the administration of his kingdom and his house, he set out for Vezelay. Richard Cœur de Lion assembled his pilgrims at Tours, where he took from the hands of the archbishop of that city the staff and wallet, the former of which brake as he leant upon it, a circumstance which was regarded as an evil omen. He then proceeded to join the king of France at Vezelay, where a hundred thousand warriors covered the plains and hills with their tents. The duke of Burgundy, and the count of Flanders, had here joined the pilgrims who marched under their banners, and it was agreed that all the crusaders should re-assemble at Messina in Sicily. After a repose of two days the kings and their trains set out for Lyons. The pilgrims experienced no little difficulty and danger in crossing the rapid stream of the Rhone; but at length they all got safely over. A few days afterwards the French pilgrims set out on their road for Genoa, where king Philip had hired ships to convey them to Sicily. On the 24th August, Philip and his army set sail from Genoa; their voyage was favourable till they came nigh the straits of Messina; but here they encountered a terrific storm. The sky became dark as pitch, the thunder pealed, and roared, and bellowed,

the lightning now shed its brilliant light around, revealing even the minutest objects, and then was swallowed up again in the gloom; dire was the crashing of the masts, the whistling of the wind through the cordage; horses, military machines, and provisions, were thrown over-board to lighten the vessels, many of which were lost. At length, on the 10th September, the French pilgrims in piteous plight entered the port of Messina.

On the fourth day after the departure of the French pilgrims, the king of England led the greater part of his army to Marseilles. Many, dubious of finding room a-board the ships, went over land, designing to take shipping in the Italian ports. The king, and those who went to Marseilles, were disappointed in their hopes of finding the fleet there; it had been grievously tossed by storms in the bay of Biscay, and Don Sancho of Portugal, as the vessels ran singly into the ports of Sylves or Lisbon, prevailed on the pilgrims to aid him against the Moors. During the tempests, which the English navy encountered, the chosen warriors were cheered by celestial visions; for, while the storm was raging with its utmost fury, the blessed St. Thomas of Canterbury appeared to these pilgrims, and assured them that the care of the fleet had been committed by God to himself, and St. Edmund, and St. Nicholas, and immediately the wind abated. When all the ships had re-assembled in the port of Lisbon, they set sail for the straits of Gibraltar, and on the 22d August they arrived at Marseilles.

The king of England, having waited eight days, had set out a fortnight before with twenty-three hired ships for the coast of Italy. Each night he disembarked and slept on shore; at Genoa he had an interview with king Philip, who there lay sick; he stopped a few days at Porto Fino, in the bay of Rapello; he rested again at Pisa, and he and his knights rode thence on hired horses to Piombino. A land journey of two days brought them to the mouth of the Tiber, where the king, in an interview with the bishop of Ostia, expressed himself in no measured terms of the venality and rapacity of the court of Rome, which city he did not deign to visit, though invited by the pope; but continued his journey along a road paved, as we are told, for four-and-twenty miles with marble, through a wood, named Selvideme, abounding in harts, roes, and hinds. Getting then aboard of his vessels, he reached Naples in two days, and having visited the abbey of St. Januarius, he, and his knights, proceeded on hired horses to Salerno, where he abode until he heard of the safe arrival of his fleet at Messina.

As king Richard and his train rode through Calabria, on his way from Salerno to Messina, he passed with a single knight through a village on the road between Mileto and Bagnara, and seeing a fine hawk in the house of a peasant, he seized it, and was carrying it away; the peasant in vain reclaimed his bird; the other peasants came to his aid with sticks and stones, one of them rushed with his drawn knife at the king, who struck him with the flat of his

sword, the sword broke, and the king escaped with difficulty to Bagnara. He passed the strait without loss of time, slept that night in a tent on shore, and next morning (Sept. 23) got on board of one of his best ships, and followed by the others, with trumpets and all kinds of martial music sounding, entered the port of Messina. The inhabitants, and the king of France and his army, stood ranged on the shore to witness the pompous entry of the king of England, who landed, and took up his quarters in the suburbs, after a confidential interview with the king of France. Philip attempted that very day to sail for Syria, but the wind changing he was forced to put back into Messina.

THE KINGS AT MESSINA.

At Messina Richard was visited by his sister Johanna, widow of William the late king of Sicily, and he had on her account a warm dispute with Tancred, the present king, from whom he demanded satisfaction for his unjust confinement of her, and the county of St. Angelo as her dower; and with it, according to old Sicilian fashion, a golden table twelve feet long and a foot and a half broad, with two golden tripods, a silken tent large enough to allow two hundred knights to sit at table in it, twenty golden basins and as many golden plates. For himself he required, by virtue of the agreement concluded between his father and the late king William, a thousand loads of wheat, as many of barley, and the use of a hun-

dred ships of war, fully equipped for a year. Tancred replied that the demands of Johanna had been already satisfied by his settlement with her, as she was leaving Palermo.

Unanimity did not long continue between the Sicilians and the English pilgrims; the former, like all the southerns, hated the northerns, and the English were at no pains to conceal their contempt for the mingled breed of Greeks and Saracens which they esteemed the Messinians to be, and their frank and cordial treatment of the fair sex awakened the jealousy of the Sicilian husbands. A spark, therefore, kindled a conflagration. An English pilgrim was one day buying bread from a Sicilian woman; enraged at his offering what she esteemed too low a price, the seller began to abuse him, several of her countrymen came up, seized the pilgrim, tore his hair, and otherwise ill-treated him. The gates were closed, armed men mounted the walls and towers, and provoked the pilgrims to an assault, their challenge was accepted, and Richard soon, to his surprise, learned that a large portion of his army was attacking the town. He mounted his fleetest horse, with his stick in his hand, with which he belaboured well the assailants, but to no purpose. He then clad himself in armour, proceeded to the palace of king Tancred to arrange measures for future tranquillity, having at last succeeded in ending the tumult, and

Next morning three Sicilian archbishops and other men of rank waited on the king of England, to re-establish peace; the king of France and several

prelates and barons also repaired thither. As they were in the midst of their deliberations, news came to Richard that the Sicilians had attacked the quarters of Hugh Le Brun, a Norman knight; the envoys denied the possibility of it, and the king was satisfied. But when a second and a third messenger had come, he flung himself on his war-horse and hastened to the scene of action, to make peace as he had done the day before. The Sicilians received him with shouts of abuse, the anger of Richard was kindled; he armed himself and drove them before him like chaff before the wind, he pursued them to the city, and killed several of them at one of the gates. A conflict had at the same time taken place between the pilgrims and the citizens at the gates, which were closed; the pilgrims had several times forced their way into the town, though assailed by stones and darts from the walls and towers, but were driven out again. The French pilgrims and their king, instead of seeking to re-establish peace, rather took the side of the Sicilians. At length, a body of the English discovered a gate which was unguarded, they broke it open and rushed in, unbarred the remaining gates, and king Richard and ten thousand of his warriors were soon in the town; all who offered resistance were slain, the houses were plundered of their most valuable contents, the women of condition were made prisoners, the ships in the harbour were burnt to prevent escape, and, to the sore annoyance of the French, the banners of England were seen to float on the walls and towers of Messina.

The king of France sent immediately to demand that his banners should be planted on the walls along with those of king Richard, and the French joined with the English in the guard of the walls. Richard was about to return a haughty reply, but his barons soothed him, and he assented to the demand of the French king, who then offered his mediation between Richard and Tancred, and the duke of Burgundy and some other knights were sent to Palermo on the part of the king of England. Philip now had the boldness to claim a portion of the plunder of Messina, and in such assuming terms, that Richard declared his resolution of proceeding alone to Palestine; whereupon Philip withdrew his claim. The two monarchs then met, and on the 8th October, they and their prelates and barons swore fidelity and mutual aid to each other, on both the passage to and the return from the Holy Land, and made several regulations for the keeping of order and discipline in their armies.

The peace was speedily made between the kings of England and Sicily, and sworn to by them and their prelates and barons. Richard agreed to give up the claims of his sister for twenty thousand ounces of gold, and his own for an equal quantity of that metal; which last sum, however, was to be considered as the marriage portion of the daughter of king Tancred, who was betrothed to Arthur duke of Bretagne, the nephew and presumptive heir of king Richard, and which was to be repaid in case of the death of that young prince, or his refusal to fulfil the agreement

made for him by his uncle. King Richard bound himself not only to abstain from hostility during his abode in Sicily, but to defend that isle against all enemies. All the plunder was restored to the Messinians, and confidence was in a great measure restored between them and the crusaders. The treaty did not, however, put an effectual stop to the quarrels between the islanders and their guests, and the repose of king Richard was not unfrequently disturbed by their broils. To secure himself and his army against any treachery which might be meditated, he fortified the island in the Faro of Messina, and built, on a steep hill near the town, a strong castle of timber, named Mate-griffun (*Slay-griffon?*).

The French king not being by any means so generous as his brother of England, the French pilgrims began to suffer from want, and after Christmas, Philip, at the solicitation of his barons, sent to urge the king of England to fix the month of March for the time of their departure. But Richard, who was engaged to marry Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, wished to defer it till the month of August, alleging that he required that time to repair his ships and to construct his military machines. Philip then summoned him as his vassal immediately to perform his agreement, and on the refusal of the king of England, he called on those of his barons who had sworn with him, to do as they were in duty bound; they unanimously declared, that they were ready to set out for the Holy Land, and Richard, in his rage, menaced them with the loss of their fiefs. All

concord was now nearly at an end between the two monarchs.

The following trifling incident will serve to illustrate the ferocity of the character of king Richard. On Candlemas-day, he held a feast and entertained several of the knights, both of his own household and of that of the king of France. After the mid-day meal they amused themselves, as was the usual practice, with knightly exercises outside of the town. As they were riding home through Messina, in the utmost harmony, they met a peasant with an ass laden with a species of long canes which grow in Italy and Sicily. They seized these canes and began to beat one another manfully with them: king Richard happened to encounter a gallant French knight, named William de Bar, and they struck with such vigour that both their canes were broken, and the coat of the king was torn. In a rage he ran his horse at the knight with design to unhorse him, but he stood the shock, and the king's saddle giving way, he was thrown. Mounting another horse, he ran again at the knight, with as little success. He then broke out into abuse of him, vowing eternal enmity to him and his. In vain the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the other French barons, interceded for the innocent knight; the king of England was inexorable, and it was not till the French fleet was on the eve of sailing that he could be prevailed on to grant him his forgiveness.

In the month of March, an interview for the purpose of accommodating all differences between the

kings of England and Sicily took place at Catania; Tancred advanced five miles to meet the English monarch; the two princes alighted, embraced, and proceeded together on foot to that town, where Richard was entertained during three days with the utmost magnificence. When he was about to depart, the noble Tancred presented him with many costly gifts, of which he would only accept a small ring as a memorial of friendship, giving in return Caliburn, the formidable sword of the renowned Arthur. Tancred accompanied him a long way on his return, and on taking leave, expressed in strong terms his conviction of the falsehood of the representations concerning the views and designs of Richard, and his offer of aid against him, made to him by the king of France, through the duke of Burgundy. "By God," cried the chivalrous king of England, "it is not possible, and may the judgment of God come upon all who so deal! How could the king of France act so, who is my liege lord and my fellow-pilgrim?" Whereupon Tancred, it is said, handed him the letter sealed with the signet of the king of France, which had been delivered to him by the duke of Burgundy, and offered, in case of that lord denying it, to maintain his truth by one of his knights in the judicial combat. Richard was so incensed against Philip, that when he heard he was coming to Taormina to visit king Tancred, he returned by another way to Messina to avoid meeting him.

According to the English historians, Richard sent the count of Flanders to show to Philip the letter

which Tancred had put into his hands. But the king of France utterly denied it, and said it was all an invention of Richard's, to give a colour to his dishonourable rejection of his sister, the princess Alice. Richard, it is said, coolly replied, that he required no pretext for not espousing a princess who had had a son by his father, king Henry; and Philip was glad to hush up the business for a sum of ten thousand marks of silver, to be paid in four equal terms, and an assurance that the princess should be sent back within a month after king Richard's return from his pilgrimage. All matters concerning their mutual relations were once more arranged, and on the 30th March the fleet of the French monarch weighed anchor, and after a prosperous navigation arrived at Ptolemaïs on the thirteenth day of the following month.

VOYAGE OF KING RICHARD.

THE very day on which king Philip left Messina, arrived in that city queen Eleanor, the king of England's mother, and his bride, the princess Berengaria. After a very short stay, the queen-mother set out for Naples on her return home; and on the 16th April king Richard, after having levelled his wooden castle of Mategriffun, sailed from the port of Messina. In the early morning, his Dromones or great war-ships put to sea; on board of one of them, which displayed a mimic lion and bore that name, ascended the princess Berengaria and the dowager

queen of Sicily, attended by a gallant train of knights. When the king had dined and taken solemn leave of the people of Messina, he went on board of his own vessel, and that afternoon the whole navy, two hundred ships in number, proceeded with swelling sails and joyous clamour along the Faro towards the open sea.

Light breezes and calms detained the fleet for some days off the coasts of Italy and Sicily. On the fourth a violent storm came on from the south, and dispersed it. The king, whose own ship stood the sea stoutly, caused every night a large wax-candle to be lighted and hung aloft in a lantern, as a signal to the other vessels, several of which were thus enabled to rejoin him. Three of the largest ships were driven, by a fresh storm, to the coast of Cyprus, and wrecked off the port of Limasol.* The ship in which were the queen and the princess was also driven to that island.

The king, and the vessels which had joined him, first made the coast of Candia; they then ran into a bay of Rhodes, where they remained ten days for the king to recover the effects of his sea-sickness, and thence proceeded to Cyprus. On the way they met a ship coming from Syria, and learned, from the pilgrims who were on board, the safe arrival of the king of France, and that he was busily engaged

* The vice-chancellor and several of the knights who were on board perished in the waves. The royal signet was afterwards found by a Cypriote, on the body of the chancellor, when it was driven on shore, and offered for sale in the English camp.

in the construction of machines for the siege of Acre.

The emperor, as he proudly styled himself, of Cyprus, at this time was Isaac Cormenus, a son of the daughter of Isaac, the incapable elder brother of the late emperor Manuel.* He had taken advantage of the general abhorrence of the tyrant Andronicus, to make himself master of that island, and Isaac Angelus was of too feeble a character to be able to dispossess him. But the distant tyranny of Andronicus had been less oppressive to the Cypriots than the immediate pressure of the yoke of a far worse despot, and they impatiently longed for deliverance. The pilgrims also suffered from his cruelty and his avarice; those who approached the island were seized by him, the rich were forced to pay a heavy ransom, the poor were reduced to slavery. The atrocity of his character gave credit to the report that he and Saladin had entered into a treaty, ratified by each drinking of the blood of the other.

The pilgrims, who were on board of the English vessels which were wrecked, were received with apparent kindness, and under pretence of providing for their safety placed in a deserted castle, of which the entrance was guarded, and no egress permitted to them. Other pilgrims, among whom were several knights of note, met the same treatment; they were deprived of their arms, to obviate, as was said, all suspicion and distrust. Their liberation when they required it was refused to them, and the clothes and

* See Vol. I. p. 359.

provisions sent from the ship of the queens to them were withheld by the Greeks. Convinced that their destruction was meditated, they with no other weapons than three cross-bows resolved to achieve their liberty. They broke out of the castle in a close body, two knights armed with the cross-bows kept off the Greeks, the pilgrims who were in the ship when they saw them, hastened to their aid, and they escaped with very little loss. The emperor, who came that very day to Limasol, pretended ignorance of, and anger at, the treatment which they had experienced, and offered to make good all their losses. The following day he sent a pressing invitation to the royal ladies to come on shore; the day after it was repeated, accompanied by a present of Cyprian wine and fresh provisions, the third day it was urged still more vehemently. The ladies, who suspected treachery and feared violence, were on the fourth day relieved from their anxiety by the view of two ships in the offing and making for Cyprus, and soon the entire fleet of the king of England came in sight.

RICHARD IN CYPRUS.

King Richard was resolved to avenge the wrongs and indignities of his subjects. Isaac, as was the habit of his family, attempted resistance where it was unavailing; he secured the entrance of the harbour and all the landing-places by sinking old ships and other impediments in them, and he placed five large vessels, filled with archers and cross-bow men, at the

mouth of the harbour. A numerous army, headed by himself, and gay with banners, covered the shore to oppose a landing; but the undaunted king of England and his valiant knights got into their boats, and pushed off for the shore. Richard himself was the first to jump on the land and charge the Grecian cross-bow men; he seized and mounted a paltry steed, whose stirrups were cords, and, followed by his knights, pursued the Greeks, who fled almost without resistance, and ever and anon he called on the emperor to stop and engage him in single combat. The town opened its gates to the victors, and the first care of the lion-hearted monarch was to provide suitable accommodations for his royal sister and her fair companion.

The king passed the night in a tent outside of the city, and in the morning, when the horses of the knights had been landed, without giving them time to recover themselves, he rode with fifty knights to the camp of the Greeks, who were but two miles distant, challenging them to come forth and fight again. It was in vain that some of his knights reminded him of the number of the foes. Followed by his brave companions he rushed amidst them; the Greeks, whose hearts were not in the cause they fought for, turned and fled. The emperor was borne to the ground by the lance of the king of England, and mounting another horse he fled to the mountains. The rich and well-supplied camp became the prize of the English knights. The emperor, after some more unsuccessful efforts, shut himself up in Nicosia.

Richard caused a herald to proclaim security to those who would submit to him, and several of the principal Cypriots gladly took the oath of allegiance.

The king of England was meanwhile indefatigable in his exertions for the security of his army. Observing, one day, three ships making for the island from the East, he himself mounted a boat and boarded them. To his surprise, he found there the king of Jerusalem, the princes of Antioch and Tripolis, the master of the Hospital, and several distinguished Syrian barons, who were come to seek his protection against the king of France. Richard prepared for them a splendid entertainment, made his brother monarch a rich present, and on the following day, in the presence of his distinguished guests, he solemnized his marriage with the princess Berengaria, who was crowned by the hands of the bishop of Evreux, several other prelates assisting. The joy of the king was farther augmented by the arrival of the remainder of his scattered fleet, and with the Cyprian ships which he had taken, he now reckoned in his navy a hundred ships of war besides transports.

The emperor Isaac fearful of losing all, was now anxious for peace, and at the request of the master of the Hospital, Richard agreed to an interview, to take place at a short distance from Limasol. The king of England proceeded with great pomp to the place of conference. He rode a large handsome Spanish horse, his reins were adorned with gold, a housing of green, embroidered with gold, covered his saddle, on the back

of which were two small golden lions, with their fore-paws raised in attitude to fight. The tunic of the king was of rose-coloured velvet, his mantle was striped with silver half-moons, between which were scattered numerous golden suns, his hat was of scarlet cloth, embroidered with figures of beasts and birds in gold, his spurs and the hilt of his sword were of gold, the sheath of his sword was covered with silver, and it hung from a silken belt. In his right hand he held the royal sceptre.

At this conference peace was granted to the emperor, on his engaging to make good the losses of the pilgrims, and to aid in the recovery of the Holy Land. Richard, on his return to Limasol, sent to him his own tent and its furniture, and all the other tents which had been taken in the Grecian camp. But that very night Isaac, persuaded by one of his followers that Richard meant not fairly with him, but would that night fall on him and lay him in irons, mounted his famous brown horse and fled to Famagosta. Richard, on learning his flight, proclaimed him a perjured violator of treaties. He determined to pursue him and give him no rest, and dividing his ships into two parts he took the command of one division himself, committing the other to Robert of Turneham. They sailed round the island in opposite directions, to prevent his escape, while the land army, under the command of the king of Jerusalem, advanced against Famagosta. But Isaac, fearing to stand a siege, fled to the mountains, and the city joyfully opened her gates. As the English army was

on its march thence to Nicosia he fell on it from an ambush, and shot two poisoned arrows at king Richard, and he was indebted to the swiftness of his brown horse for his escape from the lance of the English king.

Nicosia also cheerfully submitted, and Richard made the people cut off their beards as a token of their change of master. Several strong castles, in one of which was the only daughter and the treasure of Isaac, were taken. All the tyrant's subjects deserted him, and he at last adopted the resolution of coming to the camp of the king of England and throwing himself on his mercy. He accordingly sought the presence of Richard on the Friday before Whit-Sunday. He was clad in mourning, and his only request was not to be laid in iron fetters. Richard received him with courtesy, gave him a seat near himself, and indulged him with the presence of his daughter; and the chains in which he was afterwards placed were of silver. He then was sent a prisoner to Tripolis, and his daughter was placed under the care of the young queen.

Master of the isle of Cyprus, Richard now set about regulating it. He granted the Cypriots one-half of their lands on the terms on which they had held them in the time of the emperor Manuel; the half which they surrendered was laid out in fiefs for the knights who were to defend the country. The government was committed to Richard of Canville and Robert of Turneham, with orders to keep the army, while in Syria, well supplied with provisions.

On the Wednesday after Whitsuntide, the king and his army embarked at Famagosta, and made sail for Ptolemaïs.

SIEGE OF TYRE.

It is now time that we should return to the Holy Land, and take a view of what had occurred there during the time that Europe was making preparations to relieve it.

Almost all the towns of the coast had submitted to Saladin, and he was preparing to lay siege to Tyre, when Conrad, son to William marquis of Montferrat, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of Tiberias, arrived in the East. Conrad had fought, not without reputation, in the wars of the emperor Frederic in Italy. At the invitation of the emperor, Isaac Angelus, he visited Constantinople, where he espoused Theodora, the sister of that monarch, whom he aided to overcome the rebel Bardas, and he then pursued his voyage to Syria. It was evening when he came to the road of Ptolemaïs; the silence which reigned in the harbour, where the approach of a ship with pilgrims was wont to be hailed with shouts of joy, excited his surprise, which was augmented by no sound of bells calling to devotion reaching his ears, and the banners of Saladin, which he could discern on the towers in the beams of the setting sun, convinced him that Ptolemaïs was no longer in the hands of the Christians. Some Saracen ships which he spoke, confirmed his conjectures; but an adverse

wind prohibited his departure, and he entered into a sham negotiation with the governor, Malek-el-Afdal, a son of Saladin's, till the wind changed and enabled him to make sail for Tyre.

The arrival of the marquis Conrad was hailed with joy by the citizens, whose governor and Raynald of Tripolis were on the point of making a surrender of the town to Saladin, and the chief command was immediately given to him. He forthwith directed his attention to the repairing and strengthening of the fortifications, and he cut a deep trench across the mole which joins the island to the shore. On the 2nd November, 1187, bodies of the Moslem troops began to approach the town, and on the 8th day of the following month the sultan opened the operations of the siege in person. No day passed on which the Christians did not make two or three sallies against the besiegers. In these exploits the attention of the Saracens was chiefly attracted by a tall and powerful Spanish knight, who was mounted on a large war-horse; his arms were green (whence they styled him the Green Knight), his crest was the branching antlers of a stag, and an iron chain was fastened to his helmet; his example excited others to valour, everywhere he turned he carried destruction, and Saladin himself viewed his prowess with complacency.

The sultan seeing the resolution of the Syrian knights, had recourse to negotiation. He offered Conrad a large quantity of gold, and the liberty of his father, if he would surrender the town. But the undaunted marquis replied that he would not give

the smallest stone in the town for his father, and that he would esteem it a blessing if his old father, who was no longer capable of any valiant deed, were to die a martyr, and thus purge away the guilt of his sins. It is even said, that when Saladin had caused the old marquis to be brought from Damascus and fastened to a stake, in the place against which the machines of the besieged were chiefly directed, the marquis, to prove to the sultan the truth of his words, turned a machine against his own father.

Saladin, perceiving that the town was only to be reduced by a regular siege, ordered ships from Egypt and the ports of Syria to come to attack it on the sea-side; he built several military machines, and he called the troops of Aleppo to his standard. Conrad, on his side, adopted every means of defence and of annoyance. Among other devices he constructed some vessels covered with strong leather, named Barbotes, which were so light that they could run close to the shore, and the cross-bowyers who were in them shot out through apertures at the Saracens, and did them much injury. They were also so formidable to the Saracen ships, that none of them ventured to approach the harbour.

By the following stratagem Conrad contrived to get some large ships, of which he was much in want. The son of an emir in the camp of Saladin, had, on account of some quarrel with his father, deserted to the Christians, and embraced their creed. Conrad had a letter in Arabic, purporting to be from this young man to Saladin, shot with an arrow into the

camp of the sultan. In this it was pretended that he had only deserted to act as a spy, and it informed the sultan that the Christians were meditating flight, as the sultan would see by the noise and tumult in the harbour, on a certain night. Saladin was deceived, and on the appointed night he ordered his fleet to cruise before the harbour. Conrad closed the barbicans to prevent any one from going out to fight, and he assembled the people in arms about the harbour, where they made a great noise all through the night. In the morning all was still, the Saracen ships came to the mouth of the harbour, and as they found the chain down, five of their gallies, one of which was the admiral's, ventured in. Immediately the chain was drawn, the gallies were captured, and all on board slaughtered. The marquis manning these five vessels and two of his own, attacked and dispersed the remainder of the fleet, and returned in time to drive off the Turks who had attempted to enter the town by escalade during his absence. As the winter was now far advanced, Saladin, with the advice of his emirs, raised the siege and returned to Ptolemaïs, after burning such of his machines as could not be removed.

PROGRESS OF THE ARMS OF SALADIN.

In the month of June 1188, Saladin, having visited all the holy places of Jerusalem, prepared to renew his operations against the Christians. At the same time the Sicilian admiral Margaritus, the king of the

sea, as he was called, brought his fleet, by order of king William of Sicily, to the coast of Syria, and entered the port of Tyre. The marquis Conrad not only advised him to go to the aid of Tripolis, but sent thither himself a part of the troops of Tyre. Among those who went was the Green Knight. Saladin, it is said, observing him cutting down the Turks in his usual manner, invited him to approach him; the knight relying on the honour of the sultan complied with the invitation, and Saladin offered him abundance of money, jewels, horses, and land, if he would renounce his faith and combat for Islam. "That be far from me," said he, "that in this Holy Land, I, who am come to do the heathen, with the help of God, as much scathe as is in me to do, should join with them to confirm the opprobrious slavery of the Christians." So saying he left the tent.

On the 1st July the sultan having been joined by the troops which he had dismissed in the winter, set forth from the castle of the Koords, where he had encamped, with his army in three divisions, to attack the possessions of the Christians in the territory of Antioch. Towns and castles submitted as he approached them, but some by their show of determined resistance induced the sultan, who was not of a persevering character in his military operations, to retire, others were taken by storm and their garrisons treated with humanity. The banner of the lord of Syria now floated on most of the strong places of the principality of Antioch, and he was expected soon to lay siege to that city, when the urgency of the greater part

of his troops for their dismissal to keep the Ramadan, and a false idea of the strength of the town, induced him to lend a willing ear to the proposals of a truce made by Boemond, and he returned by the way of Baalbek to Damascus.

Shortly after his return, in the month of Ramadan, and during the autumnal rains, the active sultan laid siege in person to Safed in Galilee, a castle belonging to the Templars. During this siege, Saladin passed the entire of a rainy and tempestuous night superintending the planting of five besieging engines, and when he said to his secretary and biographer, the cadi Boha-ed-deen (*Beauty of Religion*,) "Let us not go to rest till these five machines are completed;" the pious Mussulman reminded him for his consolation of the word of the prophet, that the fire of hell avails not against the eye which wakes in the service of God and the eye which weeps in the fear of God. Safed speedily submitted. He then led his troops against Cowkab (*the Star*), a castle seated on a lofty precipitous mountain near Tiberias, and, notwithstanding the increasing violence of the rains and storms, reduced it to a composition. After keeping the fast in Jerusalem, and visiting and inspecting the cities of the coast, the sultan returned to Damascus. In the month of April (1189) he led the Turkish troops who had returned to his standard towards Paneas, and laid siege to the castle of Shakeef Arnoon or Belfort. While he was urging on his operations, he received the joyful intelligence of the surrender of Showbek or Montroyal, which completely

opened the communication between Damascus and Egypt, and shortly afterwards Raynald of Sidon, the castellan of Belfort, came out into his camp, and offered to surrender, provided the sultan would grant him a delay of three months, to enable him to get his wife and children who were at Tyre out of the hands of the Christians, and grant him as much land in the territory of Damascus as would suffice for his maintenance. Boha-ed-deen assures us that Saladin took great delight in the society of Raynald, who was well acquainted with the language and history of Arabia, and often invited him to his table.

SIEGE OF ACRE.

While Saladin was thus engaged, the Christians began to regain some hope and confidence: king Guy and his fellow-captives, having been at length restored to liberty, in May 1188, after taking a solemn oath never to bear arms against the sultan, and to quit the East as speedily as possible. From the obligation of this oath, however, they were relieved as usual by the clergy, and the king, who had joined queen Sibylla at Tripolis, formed a centre around which all those who had returned from captivity, or had retired from the castles which had surrendered to Saladin, assembled. Many valiant pilgrims from the West also joined them, and the king finding himself at the head of a respectable force, resolved to set about re-establishing his authority in the places which still remained to the Christians.

Accompanied by the queen, he appeared before Tyre, and demanded admittance. Conrad refused compliance, deeming that his defence of the town had entitled him to the sovereignty, and he closed the gates and summoned his people to arms, to repel, if needful, force with force; and the king, though the Pisans who owned one quarter of the town declared for him, was obliged to retire.

In the present state of his affairs, the king saw that it was necessary to make some bold attempt to check the progress of the sultan, and he formed the daring resolution of laying siege to Ptolemaïs, one of the strongest cities of the coast, whose inhabitants were said to be the quadruple in number of the forces which he could bring against it. With but seven hundred knights and nine thousand foot-men, in the month of August 1189, he encamped on the east side of that city, while the Pisan fleet cast anchor before it.

The city of Ptolemaïs, or St. John d'Acre, the ancient Accoe, called by the Arabs Aca, lies on the northern side of the entrace of an inlet of the sea which runs into the land for a distance of about five miles. To the east extends a rich and fertile plain, bounded on the north by the mountains of Phœnicia, on the east by those of Galilee, and on the south by the sea and Mount Carmel. Several streams flow through this plain, and the river Belus, once so celebrated for its sands, which were employed in the manufacture of glass, empties itself at the head of the bay of Ptolemaïs. The city was surrounded

VIEW OF ACRE.

by a strong double wall, thick set with towers, and encompassed by a deep ditch. The tower at the north-east point was named the Accursed, and the crusaders derived its name from a tradition which said that the money for which Judas sold his Lord had been struck in it. Two strong towers guarded the entrance of that part of the bay which formed the haven. A long hill named Turon stretched to the east of the town, on which the Christians placed their camp; and parallel to it, to the north, lay another hill, also adapted for encampment, called Ayadieah or Mahumeria. Several other eminences rose on the plain, affording strong positions for armies, but the exhalations arising from the marshes formed by the overflowing of the rivers during the rains, rendered a long abode on the plain of Acre injurious to health.

Saladin, who was at Belfort when the news of the enterprise of the Christians reached him, resolved to lose no time in advancing to the relief of so important a town, and he immediately put his army in motion. The Christians, on the third day after their arrival, being deficient in military machines, boldly attempted to take the town by escalade. Under covert of their shields they advanced to the wall and applied their ladders, but, as they were in the act to ascend, they were terrified by the intelligence of the approach of the army of Saladin. They returned without delay to their camp, and then learned to their mortification that it was only some horsemen belonging to the advance guard that had been seen.

But the opportunity of surprising the town was irrevocably gone, for shortly afterwards the sultan's host appeared and took its position at the foot of the hill of Keisan, where the plain commences, with its right wing resting on the hill of Ayadeah, thus completely enclosing the Christian army. But as the sea was open they did not want for provisions, and their numbers were soon augmented by twelve thousand valiant pilgrims from Denmark and Friesland, who landed when they saw the Christian banners before Acre. Several other bands of pilgrims gradually arrived and added to the strength of the Christian army.

After fourteen days spent in undecisive warfare, Saladin resolved on a general action. On a Friday, (September 13,) the favourite day of the Moslems for giving battle, his troops descended into the plain between the parallel hills, and advanced to the attack. The Christians maintained their position manfully. On the following day Saladin succeeded in effecting an entrance into the city and strengthening the garrison, and he then led his army back to its former position, in hopes of drawing the Christians down into the plain.

The Christians and Moslems, though engaged in daily conflict, conducted themselves with a degree of courtesy and honour towards each other which had not prevailed in their preceding wars. According to Boha-ed-deen, who was present, the combatants would frequently when weary, by mutual consent, stop to rest for an hour or longer, during which time they danced, sang, conversed, and played divers games

ogether, till the voice of their leaders again summoned hem to arms. On one of these days, he says, the ombatants cried to each other, "Why should we men e fighting without cease, and why should not the oys take their share? Come, let two boys on each side ngage each other." Two boys were then brought rom the town and matched with two Christian boys, nd they fought till one of the little Moslems threw lown and captured his opponent; the Christians ap-lauded the victor, and ransomed the captive for two gold pieces.

As the rainy season was now approaching, Guy de Lusignan resolved to give battle to the sultan. The Christian army left their camp (Oct. 4,) and de-scended into the plain; the infantry, armed with long nd cross-bows, with helmets, and corselets, and strong-plaited linen garments, advanced the first; hen came the knights, with glittering arms and fluttering pennons, so full of confidence that a knight cried out, "What power is able to withstand us? Even if God should not aid us, let him only not assist the Saracens, and the victory is ours." The army was disposed in four divisions, the first, com-posed of French and the Hospitallers, was led by the king in person, before whom four men bore a New Testament, covered with silk; the marquis Con-rad, and the archbishop of Ravenna, led the second; the third, composed of Pisans and Germans, was led by Lewis, landgraf of Thuringia, one of the lately arrived pilgrims; the Templars, with some German and Catalonian pilgrims, formed the fourth, and the

king's brother, Godfrey de Lusignan, remained to protect the camp; the right wing extended to the river Belus, the left wing to the sea.

When the Christian army was seen in motion the heralds went through the camp of the Moslems, crying, "Come on, for Islam, ye armies of the worshippers of the only God," and the Mohammedan warriors descended in three divisions from their camp. The sultan took his place in the centre division, which was commanded by the Fakee Issa; his son Malek-el-Afdal, with the emirs of Mosul, Diarbekr, Hama, and other places, formed, with their troops, the right wing, stretching to the sea; the left wing was composed chiefly of Koords, and the Asadian* Mamlooks.

At the ninth hour of the morning the fight began. The infantry of the Christians when near the enemy opened to allow the cavalry to charge, and then followed with nearly equal velocity; in despite of the efforts of Saladin, the Mussulman troops gave way, the right wing was thrown into confusion, and a part of it fled before the vigorous attacks of the Templars, and their companions; but the left wing stood its ground firmly, and the garrison made a sally from the town. Saladin re-assembled the fugitives, and fell on the rear of the Templars, and their victorious comrades, as they were returning from the pursuit; the master of the Temple was taken prisoner, and his knights put to flight; the Germans inconsiderately

* So named from the brave Asad-ed-deen Sheerkoo, Saladin's uncle, who had been their commander.

pursuing a runaway horse, the rest of the army thought that they fled; the confusion was augmented every moment; several valiant knights fell; the marquis Conrad owed his life to the valour and generosity of the king; the prompt aid of Godfrey of Lusignan alone prevented the total destruction of the army. The Christians, whose loss was great, had the mortification to reflect that their own imprudence had deprived them of a victory of which they had been certain, and to behold their dead collected in waggons by the order of Saladin, and cast into the river Belus.* Among their captives the Turks were astonished to find three females, who had fought in armour on horseback. The master of the Temple was, to the great grief of the Christians, put to death, as a breaker of his word, by Saladin, who did not recognise the dispensing power claimed by the Church.

But the hopes of the Christians were revived, and their numbers augmented by the arrival of new bodies of pilgrims from France, Italy, and Denmark, and they now were enabled to invest those parts of the town which had been hitherto free; they also secured their camp on the hill of Turon by a rampart, and by a ditch extending to the sea at either end, thus cutting off the town from the Moslem army. Saladin was meantime greatly disturbed by the intelligence he received of the approach of the emperor Frederic, and his army suffered from the air now

* Boha-ed-deen estimates the loss of the Christians at seven thousand, Aboo-'l-Faraj at two thousand, Vinesauf at fifteen hundred.

infected by the effluvia of the decomposing bodies of the slain Christians; he, therefore, transferred his camp to the heights of Kharoobah, whence he sent envoys to summon to his aid the princes beyond the Euphrates, and to call on the khalif of Bagdad, and he caused a fleet to be fitted out in the ports of Egypt. The people of Ptolemaïs, despairing of relief, offered to surrender, on condition of free egress with their moveable property; but the confidence of the Christians, though they also were suffering from the state of the atmosphere, was so great that they refused them any terms; a circumstance which they had reason to regret, when shortly afterwards the Egyptian fleet appeared, drove off the Christian ships, and captured one, whose crew the people of Ptolemaïs hung from gibbets on the walls. As winter was now beginning, the rains, which rendered the plain a marsh, prevented any conflicts between the armies; the marquis Conrad returned therefore to Tyre with his men, and Saladin dismissed the greater part of his troops till the spring.

PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.

When spring commenced the marquis Conrad returned, defeating on his way the Egyptian fleet, and taking some of their ships, on whose crews the Christians took vengeance for the conduct of the people of Ptolemaïs, by giving them into the hands of the women, who dragged them along by the hair, and then cut their throats with their knives. These

mutual cruelties put an end to the courtesy and chivalrous feeling which had hitherto prevailed. Saladin now quitting Kharoobah approached the Christian camp, which an Arabian writer describes as inaccessible even to the birds. His ancient troops had rejoined his standard, and he had assurance of speedy aid from the princes to whom he had written.

The Christians had constructed three huge wooden towers, one of which was large enough to contain five hundred men, covered on one side with hides steeped in vinegar, and with net-work of rope. Seen from the camp of Saladin they towered above the walls of the town like mountains, and they excited the greatest apprehensions in the minds of the beholders. Saladin was beyond measure anxious to destroy these formidable machines, and he committed the task to the naphtha-casters, who had been sent to him by the khalif; but these failing, a smith of Damascus undertook to destroy them; he entered the town, and while Saladin by a feigned attack drew away the attention of the Christians, he set them on fire. The joyful sight was hailed by the acclamations of the Moslems; but Saladin was not a little disturbed by learning that the besiegers had nearly succeeded in filling up the ditches of the town.

The army of Saladin was swelled each day by the arrival of the troops of his allies, to whose commanders he testified all possible respect, and whom, by leading them as they came in review before the Christian camp, he accustomed to the sight of the

enemy whom they were to combat, and at the same time displayed his strength to the Christians. On the eve of Pentecost he commenced a general attack on their fortified camp, which was kept up incessantly during eight days, till at last the infidel host were obliged to retire, leaving numbers of their dead around the trenches and ramparts. Each army now abstained from hostilities; the sultan carried on his communications with the town by means of carrier-pigeons, and small vessels of various kinds stole into the harbour with supplies.

On account of the great superiority of numbers on the side of the Moslems, the Christian princes were resolved to avoid an action; but the people soon began to grow impatient, and, as in the first crusades, to accuse their leaders of doing the Lord's work negligently. They were for some time restrained, though with difficulty, by the knights; but when they heard that Saladin had sent a part of his forces northwards, they would be no longer kept back, and at noon on St. James's-day (July 25) they sallied forth in a tumultuous manner, without leaders, to assail the sultan's camp. They made their attack on the right wing, which was unprepared to receive them, seized the camp of Malek-el-Adel, and regardless of danger laid aside their arms, and sat down to feast on the meats and drink they found there. Malek-el-Adel, on discovering the truth, fell on them, slaughtered them, and put them to flight. Four thousand was the loss of the Christians on this day, and the garrison of Ptolemaïs sallying during the

confusion fell on their camp, burned several tents, and carried off a large quantity of booty. The Moslems on this occasion lost but ten men.

Pilgrims of rank and eminence now arrived daily in the Christian camp: the counts of Troyes and Blois, and other French nobles and knights; the archbishop of Besançon, and the bishops of Blois and Toul; the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Salisbury, and several English and Norman barons and knights; Leopold the Virtuous, duke of Austria, the bishops of Ostia and Asti, in Italy, with bands of pilgrims from all these countries, gladly disembarked on the shores of the Holy Land. Some ships fell into the hands of the Saracens, whose vessels displayed crosses and other badges of the crusaders, and who even spoke their language, and by these means also succeeded in carrying supplies into the town. One Saracen ship is even said, for the sake of surer deception, to have gotten pigs (animals odious to Moslems) on board.

The glad tidings of the death of the emperor Frederic enabled Saladin to recall the troops which he had sent to oppose him, and thus to concentrate his strength, while the arrival of the French increased the discord which already prevailed in the Christian camp, on account of the defeat suffered in the preceding autumn, the blame of which was thrown on each other by the French and Germans. The former insisting that the chief command should be given to the count of Troyes, the landgraf of Thuringia, who had hitherto chiefly exercised that office,

left the camp to return home on account of his ill health, and he died the following October at Cyprus. But the German party was shortly afterwards strengthened by the arrival of the duke of Suabia with five thousand men, the feeble remnant of his father's army. It had been the anxious wish of the king that he should remain at Antioch, and occupy the attention of a part of Saladin's forces; but urged by his own desire, or, as was the report in the camp, by the representations of the marquis Conrad, who hoped for his aid in the furtherance of his private views, and who was even said to have received sixty thousand gold pieces from Saladin, for drawing the duke away from Antioch, he marched to Tripolis, and there embarked his men, who, after encountering some perils, arrived in the camp before Ptolemaïs.

In a council of war held by Saladin, when he had learned from spies and deserters that it was the intention of the Christians to attack him in the night, it was resolved to fall back to Kharoobah, leaving a select body of men on the hill of Ayadeah, to keep up the communication with the town. The Christians, foiled in that project, turned all their efforts to the assault of the town: engines of offence and defence were constructed at a great expense, the battering rams of the count of Troyes and the bishop of Besançon, and the *cat* and the *mouse* of the duke of Suabia, chiefly excited admiration; but they were all speedily the prey of the Greek fire launched against them by the besieged. The greatest valour and heroism was displayed by individuals, but the

want of harmony among the leaders caused every operation to fail.

Among the various bold attempts of the Christians at this time, none was so worthy of attention as that of the Pisans, and other mariners, on the Fly-tower, which protected the entrance of the harbour. They raised on one of their vessels a wooden tower, and covered it and the ships with hides; in the tower were abundance of missiles, and the crews were well supplied with scaling-ladders. While a part of them occupied the arms of two thousand Turks, sent by Karacoosh, the governor of the town, to the defence of the tower, the rest attacked it so vigorously that they had already applied their ladders to it, when the defenders, stimulated to new exertion by the prospect of danger, repelled them by hurling down enormous blocks of wood, and at last succeeded in making their Greek fire catch the tower; at the same time the wind blew back on their own ships the fire with which the assailants had hoped to burn the Saracen vessels in the harbour, and they were forced to retire with the loss of their tower, and of three of their ships.

The Christians, who were entirely dependent on the sea for supplies, were often reduced to straits for provisions; but their courage remained still unimpaired. Saladin, who was suffering from sickness, gave them little disturbance, contenting himself with sending letters into the town by means of pigeons, and divers, and occasional supplies of money and provisions by small vessels, which stole into the harbour. As the

winter was now begun, the Christian princes resolved to make one decisive effort to drive off the sultan, and on the day after the feast of St. Martin, (Nov. 12,) the whole army set out, taking with them tents, provisions, and all that was needful, and leaving in the camp a sufficient force for its defence under the duke of Suabia, the count of Blois, and the archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop of Salisbury appeared clad in armour, among those who went to seek out the heathen. The knights rode in the centre of the host, strongly fenced in on either side by the dense masses of the infantry; and in the midst of them, to the astonishment of the infidels, who had as yet seen nothing of the kind, moved a carriage drawn by four mules, guarded by two hundred chosen knights, and displaying a standard lofty as a minaret, say the Arabs, from which hung a white banner adorned with red crosses.* The sultan fell back to the hill of Keisan, and the crusaders captured at a lately sunk well a large supply of barley. Here they pitched their tents, and in the morning they moved up along the eastern bank of the stream which flows by Ptolemaïs, then crossed it, and marched along its western side. The Turkish army was drawn out, but refused the proffered combat. During three days the Christian army moved up and down the stream, the Turks still declining an action; at length they returned to their camp ha-

* This was a *carroccio* resembling those of the Italian republics. We do not recollect any other instance of a *carroccio* out of Italy.

assed by the missiles of the Turkish horse. On the night of the 23rd of November, Saladin, to animate his warriors, and to take revenge on the Franks, placed a select body of horse in ambush on a hill by the Christian camp, north of the town, with directions to exhibit a few horsemen to the enemy. The stratagem succeeded; two hundred knights incautiously sallied forth to chastise the insolence of the Turks, who fled before them. The other Turks started from their concealment, and all the Latin knights were captured or slain. Saladin, who rode out to meet and congratulate the returning victors, treated the captive knights with the greatest courtesy; he presented them with dresses of honour, and assigned them tents near his own. Among them was a French knight of distinction, whom the sultan frequently invited to his own table, and observing that this knight on account of the excessive cold wore a fur-dress, he bestowed similar dresses on the others, and he permitted them all before they were sent to Damascus to get clothes, and every thing else they desired, from the Christian camp. The weather was now so severe that Saladin complied with the desires of his emirs, and allowed the chief part of the Turkish troops to return home.

The appearance presented by the Christian camp was that of a busy town; houses, booths, and tents rose on all sides; venders of every commodity were to be found there; loose women were numerous, gaming and every excess in eating and drinking occupied the day, though every circumstance announced the

speedy approach of famine. The pious archbishop of Canterbury, wearied and disgusted with the sight of such profligacy among those who professed to have girded on their swords in the cause of God, put up his fervent prayer to Heaven for a speedy release from misery, and his prayer was heard, for a fever came within fourteen days to his relief, and withdrew him from this earth ere the horrors of famine had commenced.

The ambition of the marquis Conrad was a source of great perplexity to the crusaders. His possession of Tyre, on which they were so dependent for supplies, gave him great power, and the king had already not only consented to renounce all his claims on that town, but promised to yield Sidon and Berytus to him whenever they should be regained. But Conrad aimed to deprive him of his crown, and as queen Sibylla and her daughters were now dead, he maintained that the right of the succession had passed to the remaining daughter of Amalric, Isabel wife of Humphrey of Thoron; and that light-minded princess having, at his instigation, sought and obtained a divorce from Humphrey, under the pretext of her having been married before she was of sufficient age to give a legal consent, Conrad espoused her, and laid claim to the crown in her right, while king Guy maintained that he could not with justice be deprived of the crown which the deceased queen Sibylla had placed on his head. The princes and knights were split into two parties, the French adhered to their countrymen Guy, the Germans were inclined to the side of Conrad.

FAMINE IN THE CHRISTIAN CAMP.

THE marquis had gained many by the hopes of abundant supplies from Tyre, but in this he deceived their expectations, and famine soon began to commit its ordinary ravages in the Christian camp. The historians on this, as on other occasions, adopt the clear and intelligible method of exhibiting the degree of scarcity, by noting the extravagant prices of the various articles of food. As much wheat as a man could carry with ease cost a hundred gold pieces, a hen twelve shillings, an egg or an apple six denarii. Two men, we are told, gave their last coin, a denarius of Anjou, for thirteen beans. On going to eat them when they got home, they found one of them unsound, and though the way was long they went back with it, and by dint of entreaty got the seller to give them a sound one in exchange. Knights of birth and fame disdained not to steal bread from the bakers; one, who was caught in the fact, was given bound to the baker whom he had robbed; but while the baker and his people were otherwise engaged he made his escape, carrying with him a loaf, which he shared with his friends. Many knights killed and ate their war-horses; numbers of the poor died, the charity of the bishop of Salisbury and some Italian prelates and English barons saved many from perishing. With winter the famine ended, the ships began to arrive with supplies; the first, a small vessel laden with wheat, arrived on a Saturday evening,

and next day the price of that article was fallen so much, that the quantity which on Saturday had cost a hundred pieces of gold, would fetch no more than four on the Sunday.

The famine had been attended by sickness, and two hundred pilgrims often died in a day. Its noblest victim was the gallant duke of Suabia, who expired on the 21st of January 1191, deeply regretted by his mates in arms. To celebrate his funeral the camp was illuminated, each tent and hut displaying two or more lights, and the Mussulmans who viewed it from a distance, deemed the Christian camp to be in a conflagration.

As on all occasions of privation and suffering in the holy wars, there were many who renounced their faith for food, and deserted to the camp of Saladin. Some were even base enough, though still retaining their faith, to propose to the sultan, if he would give them a ship, to seek out and capture Christian vessels, and to give him half the booty. Saladin, wishing to weaken the enemy, readily granted their desire; but when they appeared before him with their captives and a rich booty, the magnanimous sultan disdained to share in what was so nefariously acquired, and pious Moslems praised Allah who thus destroyed the infidels by the means of each other.

The far greater part of the pilgrims remained true to their vow and suffered in patience, and it was at this time that a new military and religious order, that of the Teutonic knights, was added to those of the Temple and the Hospital. Their dress was a

white mantle with a black cross, their vows were similar to those of the other order. The duke of Suabia displayed great zeal in its cause, and used his influence in its favour with his brother the emperor and the pope.

It was not without difficulty that Saladin was able to induce his auxiliaries from beyond the Euphrates to abide by his standard, and it was only by his assurance that he was treating of peace with the Christians that they consented to remain. In the month of February, Malek-el-Adel, by his orders, changed the brave garrison of Ptolemaïs, who had acquired such well-deserved reputation by their defence of that town; but those sent in their place were neither so brave nor so numerous, and the new commanders did not equal their predecessors in skill or in zeal. The Christians were on their side equally weary of the war, and their ablest leaders were of opinion that if the kings of France and England did not arrive by Easter the siege must be raised.

ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

At length, on the 13th of April, to the great joy of the Christians, who received him with all the marks of honour becoming one of the most potent monarchs of the West, king Philip arrived in the camp before Ptolemaïs. But they observed with pain that he was accompanied by no more than six ships, and their boasts of his power to the advanced posts of the Moslems, and others of the infidels with whom they

were in the habit of conversing, were little borne out by the number of his army. Philip contributed also to encrease the disunion among the crusaders, by taking the part of the marquis of Tyre against the king of Jerusalem, who forthwith sailed, as we have related, accompanied by his principal adherents, to seek the support of the king of England. The French monarch took his post by the Accursed tower, and constructed a few machines, which did at first some mischief, but were soon destroyed by the Greek fire of the besieged. The army was eager to be led against the town; but Philip, deeming it more judicious to wait till the king of England was come, refused to comply with their desires.

ARRIVAL OF KING RICHARD.

RICHARD, on leaving Cyprus with five-and-twenty ships, directed his course for Tyre, but by order of Conrad he was refused admittance into that city, and he spent a night in his tent without the walls. Next day he made sail for Ptolemaïs, and as he was between Sidon and Berytus, he discerned at a distance a large three-masted vessel, apparently bound for Ptolemaïs. A galley was despatched to hail her; the ship, which was becalmed, replied that she belonged to the king of France, and was conveying stores and arms from Antioch to the Christian camp. The English, seeing none of that monarch's people on board, were dubious of the truth of what they heard; and the king himself, on taking a nearer

view of her, was quite convinced that no ship of her size and appearance could belong to the king of France. To another vessel, which afterwards questioned them, they said, that they were Genoese, and bound for Tyre. An English seaman now offered to wager his head that they were heathens, and the king gave orders for the attack. The courage and skill with which the Moslems (for such they were) defended themselves, amazed the English seamen; from the lofty deck of their vessel they hurled the Greek fire on the assailants who were beneath, and their archers shot with greater effect from their elevation. By violent menaces, joined with promises, the king of England excited his dispirited men to persevere in the conflict. Some jumped into the sea and attempted to tie the rudder of the ship to prevent her sailing, others climbed up her sides, but they were quickly slain or driven back. The king, seeing he could not take, resolved to sink her, and he ordered his ships to run their iron beaks against her side. The Turks, when they saw there was no chance of escape, seized their axes, and aided to destroy her. Several cast themselves into the sea; of all the prisoners whom the English took, the ferocious king gave life to but five-and-thirty, who were emirs or engineers, all the rest were put to death. A large booty was saved and divided by the king among his men. The quantity of military stores on board of this vessel was very great, and the loss of her caused the greatest grief to Saladin, and utterly dejected the garrison of Ptolemaïs.

Two days afterwards (June 8,) the king of England landed at the camp before Ptolemaïs. His arrival diffused the utmost joy among the pilgrims, and his entry was a triumphal procession. The trumpets, drums, cymbals, flutes, and horns filled the air with their exulting notes; songs, and ballads of the deeds of the heroes of old, were sung by all the people; and when the night fell, an illumination of torches and wax-tapers spread over the whole camp, and joyous banquets were celebrated in honour of the valiant Richard. The Moslems from their camp and town heard and saw these demonstrations of triumph with anxiety and dismay.

THE ENGLISH CRUSADERS.

THE first army of crusaders which England sent forth, being now landed under the command of their king, it may be gratifying to see the list of the nobles and knights of greatest note, who on this occasion

> Bore the radiant red-cross shield,
> Mid the bold peers of Salem's field.

And it will be interesting to observe what names among them still remain in the rolls of nobility, or among our territorial aristocracy. For that purpose we subjoin the following catalogue of English crusaders.*

* We extract it (with permission) from the 'List of English Crusaders' so diligently collected by Mr. Wiffen, and prefixed to his translation of Tasso.

We must previously observe, that the number of the English warriors is not given by the historians, but as the whole pilgrim army at Vezelay did not exceed one hundred thousand men, one half of whom must have been subjects of the king of France, and as Richard was lord of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, and Guienne, the number of the English pilgrims could not have been more than twenty thousand or twenty-five thousand men.

RICHARD I.

Abelin, Nicholas de
Agilon, Robert
——— William de
Albington, Philip de
Albini, William de, 3rd E. of Arundel.
Aleton, John
Anselm, Chaplain to the King.
Apuldorfield, Henrye de
Apelfourd, William de
Arcedeacon, Adam de
Audley, William de
Aula, Nicholas de
Autreve, William de
Badelismer, Raffe de
Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Balun, John de
Bardolphe, Hugh and William
Barkele.
Barnes, Raffe de
Basemes, Godfraye de
Basset of Drayton, Ralph
Basset, Symond
——— Astell de
Bassingborne, Waren de
Boys.
Beauchamp, John de
——————— Walter de
Beff, Gifford le
Beices Hameris.
Bethune, Baldwin de
——— John de
Beuchamp, John de
Bevent, Adame
Bigot, Earl of Norfolk.
Bikenor, John de
Birmingham, William de
Blanchmains, Robert E. of Leicester.
Bodiham, William de
Bokesle.
Boliere, Baldwyn de
Bonet, Hamond de
Borgheise, Hubert de
Borgo.

Borne, John de
Botone, Steven de
Boves, Hughe de
Bovile, William
Boun, John de
Breouse, Philip de.
——— William de
——— Richard de
——— Renald de
Bruce, Ingram de
Camoyes, John de
Camvill, Robert de
Camwell, Sir Richard de.
Cantelow, John de
Carrington, Sir Michael, standard-bearer to the king.
Chamberlayne, William de
——————— Philyp de
Champayne, Robert de
Champernoun, Henry de
——————— John de
Chaworth, Thomas de
Cheney, Alexander de
Chenegin, Robert, or Roger de
Chevenam, Andrew de
Clinge, William de
Clyfford, Roger
Cobeham, of Roundell, Henry de
——— John de
Cokefield, Robert
Cokyntone, Henry de
Colvile, Geffrey de
Corbet, Robert
Cornwale, Robert de
Cosinton, Stephen de
Covert, Roger de
Creon, Guy de.
Crespigny, William de
Creye, Symon de
Criele, Robert, and Nicholas de
Cudham, Olyver, and Robert de
Dambesace, William
Daras, Cheselin de
Darcy, Norman.
Daubeny, Ralph, Philip and William
Despreux, William
Dinant, Robert de, and Oliver
Dotavile, Walter de
Dufford, Robert de
Eslynge, Raffe de
Estornham, Bartholomew
Estotevile or Stuteville, Robert de
Eveby, Robert de
Fenkeham, William de
Feringes, Lucas de
Ferni, Philippe de
Ferrars, William, Earl of Derby
——— Robert, Earl
Fitz-Allen, John de
——— Henry
Fitz-Apuldorfeild, Henrye le
Fitz-Geffray.
Fitz-Gerald, Warine de.
Fitz-Gerald, Morris
Fitz-Humphrey, Walter
Fitz-John.
Fitz-Lee, William
Fitz-Nell, Robert
Fitz-Parnell, Robert, fourth Earl of Leicester.
Fitz-Roger, John
Fitz-Walter, Robert, Lord

Fitz-Warren, Fowlke de
Flandres, Baldwyne de
——— Constantine de
Fonche, Roger de
Fortibus, William de, Earl of Albemarle.
Furnivall, Girard de
——— Thomas de
Gatton, Hamon de
Genville, Geffrey
Gifford, Osberne de
——— Walter
——— Elys
Gyse, Auncell de
Glanvill, Ranulph de, Lord Chief Justice of England.
Godfrey, brother of Henry III.
Gordun, Adam de
Gosehall, Ralph de
Gournay, Hugh de
Gras, Nicholas le
Gray, Reginald and Richard de
Grentemaisnil, William, and Ivo de.
Gyffard, Robert
Hacket, Ralph de
Hardres, Robert de
Hastinge, John and William de
Helyon, Walter de
Henry, William de
Herice, Henry de
Heringoe, William
Hise, Nicholas de la
Hornes, William de
Hengham, Robert de
Huntingfield, Pierce and Cael de
Hussy, Henry
Ichingham, William
Irie, Matthew de
Kent, Thomas de
Kyme, Philip de
Kyrketon, Ralph de
Laborne, William de
Lacy, Roger de.
Lahaye, John de
Lake.
Lamarc, John
Langley, Geffrey de
Lapole, Walter de
Laroche, Guy de
Leben, Nicholas de
Leborne, William
Legenne, William
Levelande, Raffe de
Lewkenor, Roger de
Linet, Robert
Lucenburth, William de
Lucy, Geffraye, or Godfrey de
—— Emery de
Lyle, Gerard
—— Robert
Lynnesey, Raffe de
Macwire, William de
Maili, Gylles de
Males, John
Malet, Robert
Malemeynes, Nicholas de
Malmaine, Henry de
Malo, Roger, King Richard's Vicechancellor.
Maltrevers, Walter de
Mandeville, Richard de
Mantell, William de
Manvers, John de

Mauvoisin, Henry de
Marconvile, Raffe de
Marely, Jehane de
Marlet, Richard
Marmes, Thomas de
Marmion, William
———, Phillipe
Marshall, John de
Maube, William
Meremone, Geffrey
Mingee, Adam de
Moloun, Symone
Monhault, Adam de
Monnile, Benedick
Morston, Bartholomewe
Mortimer, Robert
Mountjoye, Esteven de
Mountforth, Peers de
Monvile, Gilbert de
Mowbray, Nigel de.
Munceus, John de
Munchen, Stephen de
Munchense, William de
Munforte, Robert or Roger
Musard, Raffe de
Muntein, Robert de
Muttans, Walter de
Nell, Raffe de
Neville, Hugh de
——— Robert de
Nevylle, Lawrence
Neureford, William
Normanvile, Raphe de
Northie, William de
Nunchans, Stephen de, brother to the Bishop of Ely.
Northwood, Roger de
Odingselle, William de
Okstede, Roland de
Oldeham, Thomas de
Ore, Nicholas de
—— Richard de
Orleston, William de
Otigedene, Raffe de
Parke, Henry de
Pancevot, Grymbolde de
Paynell or Pagnel, William
——————— Thomas
Pecham, John de
Peche, Gilbert
——— John
Peyfrer, William de
Pembryge, Henry
Penecester, Pynchester, or de Penshurst, Estephyn
Percy, Henry de
——— John de
——— Everard de
Perot, Raffe
Pierrepoint, Robert
——————— Symone
Pesone, Nicholas de
Peverell, Thomas
Pigot, Henry, seneschal to Earl Warren and Surry
Pipard, Gilbert.
Plokenet, Alen de
Poltimor, Lucas de
Poynge, Lucas de
Preston, William de
Quincy, Robert de, Earl of Leicester.*

* This is the third earl of Leicester in this catalogue. There is probably some mistake.

Ralle, Henry de
Rochford, Ellis de
Rode, William de
Rome, Roger de
Romilly, Ralph
Roos, Robert de
St. Aubrey, Gilbert de
St. John, John de
St. Leger, William and Ralph de
St. Quintin, Robert de
St. Valerie, Bernard de.
Sackville, Adam de
Sandair, Thomas de
Santaver, Hugh
Sautone, Bartholomew.
Savage, Ralph de
Saye, William de
Scoveney, John de
Scotto, Robert de
Scrope, Robert, of Barton.
——— Walter
Sillingheld, John de
Seintmore, Laurence de
Sodan, Stephen de
Somerye, Robert and Simon de
Spencer, Hugh de
Staverton, John de
Stopham, Ralph de
Strange, John le
Sully.
Talbot, Roger de
Talbot, Gerard
Tame, Richard
Tamworth, Gyles de
Tanquery, Bertram de
Tilmaston, Roger de
Traseme, Otho de
Tregoz, Henry and John
Tuithman, Alain de
Tupigen, Walter de
Turkeville, Hugh
Tychesey, Thomas de
Valoynes, Walrois de
Vantore, John de
Vaux, John de
Vel, Robert de
Verdun, Bertram de
——— Theobald de
Vescy, William de
Viene, Lucas de
Vile, Anselm de
Wake, Baldwin de
Waleis, Richard
Wanton, William de
Warburton, Thomas.
Warde, Robert de
Wace, Roger le
Welles, Simon de
Wilton, Ralph de
Witefield, Robert de
Wodebith, Ralph de
Wotingby, Bartholomew de.*

* We do not hold ourselves accountable for any errors or omissions which may occur in this list.

SIEGE OF PTOLEMAÏS.

THE king of France, who had received his brother of England with all becoming honour on his arrival, was soon excited to jealousy, by the superior consideration shown for his more munificent and splendid vassal. The pilgrims from Pisa placed themselves under the English monarch, whom they seemed to recognise as master of the Holy Land; the Genoese wished to do the same, but Richard declined accepting their oaths, as they were already bound to the king of France and the marquis of Tyre, but he wounded the vanity of Philip, by having proclamation made throughout the camp, that any knight who stood in need of assistance should receive four gold pieces a month from his treasurer, the more thrifty French king having allowed but three pieces. Many of Philip's foot-soldiers also passed over to the service of Richard, and their desertion was the cause of several of his machines being burned by the besieged. Though the king of England had fallen sick of the contagion which still prevailed, he carried on his operations against the town with vigour; the example of the English roused the other pilgrims to emulation, no day passed without an assault being made, and as fast as the besieged destroyed with their Greek fire the engines of the besiegers, new ones were constructed. The garrison sounded their drums and cymbals as soon as the attack was made, and then Saladin led out his army and assailed the Christian

camp, and the crusaders were frequently obliged to give over the assault of the town to return to the defence of their tents. As one day the king of France had led the army against the walls of the city, the Turkish army attacked the camp with great fury; Godfrey of Lusignan, who commanded there that day, employed his battle-axe with such vigour that his brother-warriors afterwards compared him with the Paladins Roland and Ogier the Dane; but in despite of his efforts, the enemy pressed in, and the king of France was forced to draw off his forces from the assault, and to leave his machines a prey to the Greek fire. Of this failure he laid the blame on king Richard and the Pisans, who, he said, did not aid him as they had promised. A council of war was in consequence appointed, to whose directions both monarchs promised obedience, but neither adhered to his declaration.

The king of France being recovered from the sickness into which he had fallen, renewed his operations against the town with vigour. Richard, who still lay sick, had on the arrival of the remainder of his ships various machines of great power constructed, and he employed them against the brave garrison of Ptolemaïs. Among the things brought for the siege in his ships, were huge stones fetched from Sicily, which did tremendous execution, one of them killing ten men at a time. The king of England promised one, two, and at last four pieces of gold to whoever would bring a stone from the wall of the town, and many lost their lives in the perilous attempt.

The ill feeling between the rival monarchs was fostered by the different sides which they took in the contest between Guy and Conrad for the empty title of king of Jerusalem; and the whole Christian camp was split into two opposite factions. Godfrey of Lusignan publicly accused Conrad as a traitor against his sovereign lord, and pledged himself to prove the charge in single combat against him. Conrad, thereupon, left the camp and returned home to Tyre, but the king of France, to whom he was become indispensable, induced him to come back, and then, probably at his suggestion, claimed, according to the tenor of the treaty of Vezelay, one half of Richard's acquisition of Cyprus. Richard replied, that that treaty only referred to conquests made from the heathen; but he offered to divide the island with him, if Philip would give him a half of the lands of the count of Flanders and other vassals of the French crown who had died during the siege, and whose fiefs Philip had resumed. Philip is then said to have given up his claim, and it was agreed that the brethren of the Temple and the Hospital, and other knights of repute, should divide between the two monarchs any future acquisitions which they might make.

The king of England now resolved to seek the friendship of Saladin, and he sent an envoy to propose an interview with that prince. The sultan received the English ambassador with great honour, but declined the proposed meeting, on the ground of its being indecorous while they were at war with each

other ; but he permitted his brother Malek-el-Adel to meet the English king in the plain before the two armies. On the appointed day, Richard did not appear, prevented, as the Moslems heard, by the remonstrances of the other princes ; but in a few days, another English envoy came with an assurance, that sickness alone had prevented king Richard from keeping his appointment. Various messages passed between the two monarchs, but nothing was effected, as Saladin was all along suspicious of the designs of Richard. He allowed, however, ice and fruits to be purchased in his camp for the king of England, and according to the English writers, he himself sent fine pears of Damascus and other fruits to the kings both of France and England, and accepted their presents in return.

The siege was still prosecuted with vigour. The Christians had a secret friend in the town, whose name they never could learn, but who was probably of their own creed, and by means of billets attached to arrows, he gave them intelligence of all the proceedings of the enemy, so that, whenever Saladin made an attack on their camp, he found them prepared to receive him. Many also of the garrison deserted and made a temporary renunciation of their faith ; several of the emirs secretly left the town and concealed themselves in the sultan's camp. Saladin at length sent orders to the garrison to leave the town with all that they could take with them, and force their way along the sea-coast, while he made an attack on the Christian camp. A night was spent in making pre-

parations, but in the morning, recognizing the impossibility of success, the garrison abstained from the attempt.

On the 11th June, the last attempt was made to storm the town. While the miners and others employed by the king of England had ceased from their work for their mid-day meal, the English esquires, led by the bishop of Salisbury, the earl of Leicester, and some other lords, and joined by the Pisans, mounted the ruins of a tower which had been thrown down; the Turkish sentinels raised the alarm, the invaders were promptly assailed by the formidable Greek fire, and driven off with loss; the remainder of the Christian army, who were quietly eating their meal, did not stir to come to their assistance.

SURRENDER OF PTOLEMAÏS.

Immediately after this assault, Kara-koosh and Seif-ed-deen Ali Meshtool, the two commandants of the town, came out to treat of a surrender. They had twice already offered to yield the town on condition of free egress for the garrison. "We have," said Seif-ed-deen to the king of France, "we have taken several towns from you, and when your people sued for peace and a treaty we have complied with their desire, and shown them all honour and let them depart in peace. Wherefore assure us our lives on thy royal word, and we will give the town up to you." This appeal to their sense of justice was without effect, nothing but unconditional surrender would

content the confederate monarchs, and they farther insisted on the restoration of the true cross, the release of all Christian prisoners, and the giving up all the lands and towns which the Christians possessed at the time of the second crusade. "Well then," cried Seif-ed-deen, "we will not give you the town till all of us are fallen, and not a man of us will die till he has slain fifty of the chief of you." The negotiation was shortly afterwards resumed; Philip and the French knights were for accepting the surrender on the terms offered, but Richard was inflexible, and on the 12th July, the emirs were obliged to submit to the following hard conditions—a free passage for the persons, but all the goods and arms to be left behind; the delivery of the true cross by Saladin, the payment of two hundred thousand byzants, and the liberation of two hundred knights and two thousand five hundred other Christian captives; the emirs and a part of the garrison to remain as hostages for the fulfilment of these terms by the sultan. Strict orders were then given, that no Christian should either by word or act give any offence to the Turks. Saladin on receiving a letter informing him of this treaty was greatly disturbed, and in the council of his emirs it was resolved not to ratify a deed which would deprive Islam of one of its strongest towns, and which contained the greater part of the military stores of his kingdom. But the view of the banners of the kings of the West waving on the turrets of the great mosk and on the houses of the Templars and Hospitallers, convinced them that it was now too late to resolve.

In the afternoon of the day on which the treaty was concluded, the Turkish garrison marched out with their wives and children. Though disarmed, their mien was that of conquerors, rather than of vanquished men; the Christians could not refrain from admiring the beauty of their countenances, and the firmness of mind which their features testified; a writer, (Vinesauf,) who was present, declares that this people "were admirable for their deserts in military virtues, and every kind of worthiness," and he adds, "if they had been distinguished by a true faith, there had not been, I speak as a man, better than they." Saladin, as both himself and his emirs esteemed it an imperative duty to free captive Moslems, sent immediately to Damascus to have the required numbers of Christians released, and he made arrangements for raising, as speedily as possible, the money which he was to pay. As there was no use in continuing in his present position, he retired with his army to provide for the defence of Jerusalem. Ere the sultan departed, many courtesies passed between him and the two western monarchs, and the king of England sent him a present of falcons, and hounds of various kinds, for which he made a suitable return.

THE KINGS IN PTOLEMAÏS.

PTOLEMAÏS was taken possession of by some select troops of the kings of France and England, and entrance was refused to the other pilgrims. The two

monarchs divided the town, the booty, and the hostages, between themselves. The king of France took up his abode in the house of the Templars, the king of England fixed his residence in the citadel. The churches which had been desecrated by the heathen were purified, and on the 16th July mass was celebrated in them by the papal legate, and the bishops who were in the Christian army.

The proceedings of the two kings were far from giving satisfaction to the remainder of the pilgrims. They could not discern the justice of a regulation by which they who had for the space of two years endured all the toils and the dangers of a siege, in which nearly two hundred thousand warriors had fallen, should be excluded from all share in the advantages, which were appropriated by the French and English, who were but just arrived. Their resentment was heightened by the insolence of the English, who drove off with blows such of them as attempted to enter the town; and in an assembly of the princes it was resolved to signify to the two kings that the other pilgrims would take no part in any farther operations against the heathens, if they were not given a fair portion of the plunder of Ptolemaïs, to make good the losses which they had endured. The kings promised compliance; but they did not keep their word, and many knights were obliged to sell their arms, and return home.

Another party, who considered themselves injured, were the former Christian inhabitants, who saw the houses and grounds which had been theirs in the

hands of the French and English, who answered their claims by replying that no one knew whether they were just or not, and that all that had been taken from the Saracens belonged to those whose valour had won it. King Philip, however, warmly took the side of the complainants, and he declared in the council that he was not come to the East to gain houses and lands, but to recover the country for the Christians, and that he never would be a party to the keeping out of their property those who had been deprived of it by the infidels. It was, therefore, determined that such as could prove their title should be put in possession of their property, on the condition of their entertaining the stranger-knights during their stay at Ptolemaïs.

Now that the crown of Jerusalem seemed likely to be of some value, the dispute was renewed between Guy and the marquis of Tyre. Conrad, after having made every effort to gain the good will of king Richard, came forward in the council held on the 27th July, at which, besides the kings, all the temporal and spiritual princes of the army were present, and demanded the crown in right of his wife. Guy, on his side, asserted that he had done nothing to forfeit it. After the friends of either party had brought forward their arguments, the competitors agreed to leave the decision to the two kings, and the prelates, counts, and barons of the pilgrim army ; and on the following day, when the rivals had sworn to abide by the decision of the judges, it was awarded, that Guy should retain the kingdom during his life, but

that on his death it should go to the marquis Conrad, and his wife Isabel, or to the children of their marriage; that during the life of king Guy the revenues of the kingdom should be divided between him and the marquis Conrad; as a reward for his services in the Holy Land, the marquis was to have the hereditary possession of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, and Godfrey of Lusignan, on account of his valour during the siege of Acre, to have the county of Joppa, and both to render the customary services to the king of Jerusalem. The king and the marquis swore to this arrangement.

A report was now spread that the king of France was about to return home, which was confirmed by his refusal to agree to the proposal of Richard, that they should bind themselves to remain with their armies for three years in the Holy Land, to fight against the heathen; and soon the bishop of Beauvais, the duke of Burgundy, and the counts of Amiens, and Merlou, waited on the English king, to announce to him that the health of the king of France demanded his immediate departure from the East. "If Philip," replied he haughtily, "thinks that a longer abode in Syria will be fatal to him, so let him depart, and cover his kingdom with disgrace." He then required an oath from the French monarch, that he would make no attempt on his dominions during his absence, and Philip, leaving the greater part of his knights and foot-men under the command of the duke of Burgundy, embarked in the beginning of August, and taking with him his share of the

Turkish hostages, he sailed to Tyre, and thence to Tripolis, and Antioch. He crossed over to Apulia, and proceeded by land to Rome, where the pope released him and his companions from their pilgrims' vows, and he reached his own kingdom by Christmas.

MASSACRE OF THE TURKISH PRISONERS.

THE chief command now remained with king Richard, and he very soon sullied his fame by an act, to which the king of France, if present, would most probably never have given his consent. Historians, and novelists still more, have combined to give us very erroneous notions respecting the character of the English monarch,* and the epithet of *Lion-heart*, which his contemporaries bestowed upon him, tends to spread the illusion, as if, in addition to the courage, he possessed the nobleness and generosity described as characteristic of the king of the woods. But on closely inspecting his actions we find little to com-

* How very amiable, notwithstanding his heat of temper, and some other trifling blemishes, is the Richard Cœur de Lion of the late Sir W. Scott's romances of Ivanhoe and the Talisman! Without wishing, what indeed is not in our power, to detract from the just fame of that most distinguished writer, we may venture to inform our readers that a more total neglect of historic truth is no where to be found than what this last-named *historic* romance presents. Compare the Saladin of history, as we give him, with Sir W. Scott's 'fancied portrait in no feature like' of the Sultan; also our account of the death of the marquis of *Montferrat*, with his, of that of the marquis of *Montserrat*.

mend; his courage was unattended by the skill and prudence which distinguish the able captain, and it was tarnished by a brutal and inhuman ferocity; his generosity was lavish profusion mostly excited by vanity; though a composer of lays and ballads, he does not appear to have known any thing of the delicacy of love, and his chivalry* was very far below that of Tancred, much less deserving to be compared with the valour, generosity, and piety, of the illustrious Godfrey of Bouillon. His inferiority in true nobleness of soul is immense when opposed to his magnanimous rival, the sultan Saladin, and when reading the transactions between him and Philip Augustus, a far greater man, we should always recollect that our authorities are chiefly the historians and panegyrists of the king of England.

The time on which Saladin was to make the first payment, and to deliver up the prisoners and the true cross, was now approaching, and the sultan had the money, the prisoners, and the sacred relic in his camp, where this last was seen and adored by two English ambassadors. Richard sent to the marquis of Tyre, with whom Philip had left his Turkish hostages, and the management of all his affairs in the Holy Land,

* When in this work we use the words *chivalry* and *chivalrous*, we would always be understood to mean merely daring and adventurous valour; in its best form it was united with generosity and magnanimity. The existence of a peculiar institution, — such as that described by S^te^ Palaye, Sir W. Scott, Mills, and others, from the romances, in their essays on the subject, — we deny, as we can find no *historic* evidence of it.

directing him to come to Acre with his prisoners. The marquis refused, and the impetuous monarch called on the princes to march directly to Tyre to punish his contumacy; but on the proposal of the duke of Burgundy, to go himself to the marquis, and to prevail upon him to give up the hostages, he adopted milder counsels. The duke succeeded in obtaining Karakoosh, and his companions in misfortune, from the marquis; but Conrad firmly refused to serve under king Richard. The 9th August, the day on which the exchange of prisoners and the other conditions of the treaty were to commence, was now arrived; but Richard deferred the matter till the 11th, as the hostages from Tyre were not yet come, and on the 11th he put it off till a further period. According to the English writers Richard proposed various interviews with the sultan and his brother, which were accepted; but when the English monarch came to the appointed place he found no one to meet him, and no apology was made for the breach of promise. On this point the Arabian writers are perfectly silent, and such want of courtesy is certainly not in the usual character of Saladin. They assert that the sultan by the advice of his emirs refused to give the money, the cross, and the prisoners, till he was assured of the safety of the Turkish captives, either by their being set at liberty on his giving security for the payment of the remainder of the money, or if the Christians chose to retain the hostages to the last term of payment, by their giving security for their release at that period.

One author, who was present at the time, says that Saladin required that the Templars,—of whose reverence for the sanctity of an oath the Mussulmans had a high opinion,—should bind themselves by oath to see the Turkish prisoners liberated. This they refused, saying that, when the first payment was made, a part of the prisoners should be released, and the remainder be detained till the last payment was performed. Saladin became convinced, his historians say, that the Christians did not mean to act fairly, and he felt that his only course was to leave the brave defenders of Acre to their fate.

But that fate was not such as from the words of the treaty the sultan anticipated; for, as this had stated that in case of the sultan not fulfilling the conditions, their lives and limbs should be at the mercy of the two kings, he expected nothing worse than slavery to befall them. But he little knew the English king, for Richard only waited till the forty days were expired, and then (August 20,) he led out his prisoners, more than two thousand in number, into the plain between the hills of Ayadeah and Keisan, near the camp of Saladin, and there massacred them all in cold blood. The emirs and those for whom a high ransom was expected, or who were of strong bodies or expert hands, were reserved alive. The bellies of the martyred Moslems were ript open in search of byzants by their executioners, and their gall was extracted to make medicine of it. The barbarous deed was applauded in the West; one voice alone (that of Sicard, bishop of Cremona) con-

demnatory of it has come down to us. Saladin made a vow never to spare the life of a Christian who should fall into his hands, but the prisoners in his camp, who were anticipating their freedom, were sent safely back to Damascus. He farther determined never to restore the cross on which they set such value.

Thus, with a massacre which covered the king of England and the Christians in general with disgrace, terminated the siege of Acre. No siege ever perhaps caused such a loss of human life. Of three hundred thousand pilgrims which appeared before its walls, not more than six thousand, it is said, ever again beheld their homes, all the rest perished by disease or by the sword of the enemy. Among the dead were six archbishops and patriarchs, twelve bishops, forty counts, and five hundred other nobles of high rank and power.

MARCH OF KING RICHARD.

King Richard found great difficulty to make the pilgrims leave Ptolemaïs, where they gave themselves up to every species of sensual indulgence; by lavish expenditure of his money, he at length induced the greater part of them to consent to proceed to the siege of Joppa, and on the day after the massacre of the Turkish prisoners, he committed the charge of Ptolemaïs, in which his queen and his sister with their ladies were to remain, to the knights Bertram of Verdun and Stephen Longchamp, and forcing the English and the French to leave the town he set

forth. All women, except washerwomen, who were able to travel on foot, were prohibited from following the army. On the following day the pilgrims moved in the direction of Joppa, and the ships with stores and provisions weighed anchor to accompany them.

The army, though incessantly assailed by the Turks, who charged in small bodies of from twenty to thirty men, crossed the river Belus in safety. They abode three days in their camp on its opposite side to afford time for the other pilgrims to join. On Sunday, 25th August, they again set forth divided into three corps, the cross-bowmen, whose jackets were impervious to the Turkish arrows, surrounding the knights for their protection. The first corps was commanded by the king of England in person, and composed of English and Normans, and a lofty *carroccio*, displaying aloft the lion, the banner of the king, moved in their centre; the last corps was led by the duke of Burgundy. Saladin had occupied the valleys and passes of Mount Carmel; his cavalry hovered about the Christian army, and a thick fog coming on as they were in a narrow pass, and causing them to break their order, the Turks fell on and plundered the baggage; the knights hastened to the relief but could not repel the infidels; the duke of Burgundy's corps which was advancing was thrown into confusion, and it was only the arrival of king Richard with his knights, and the mighty strokes of his huge sword, that availed to put the Turks to flight. On this occasion William des Barres fought so valiantly at the side of the king,

that Richard gave him full forgiveness of his offence at Messina.* Next day the army reached Khaifa, and encamped for two nights near the town waiting for the pilgrims from Acre. Saladin meantime reviewed his troops, gave money to repair their losses, and took up a position to await the Christians at the river near Cæsarea.

As the pilgrims advanced they found their toils and difficulties increase; the road lay over a deep yielding sand with hollow ways, or over plains and downs covered with strong prickly bushes, whose thorns pierced through their clothes. This inconvenience was in some degree alleviated by the abundance of game which haunted these thickets, and afforded them both sport and food; but at night, when they hoped to enjoy quiet and repose, they were tormented by the bites of insects named *tarrants*, against which their only defence was the clatter of shields, helmets, plates, boards, and such like. The towns and villages on their way were all deserted and destroyed. To keep up their hopes and spirits, every evening before they went to rest, a herald, by order of the king, thrice cried aloud in the midst of the camp, "God and the holy Sepulchre aid us!" to which the whole army responded with tears and earnest prayer to Heaven for assistance in their need.

Each day as the Christians advanced, the attacks of the Moslems became more daring and more frequent, and Saladin, true to his vow, put to death every captive that was made. On one day it was

* See above, p. 235.

remarked, that of the entire space of ground gone over by the Christian army, there was nowhere to be seen a spot of four feet in which there was not a Turkish arrow sticking, the discharge of them had been so copious and so incessant. At times, too, the pilgrims suffered for want of provisions. Negotiations for peace were meanwhile ostensibly entered into by the leaders, and Richard and Malek-el-Adel met to treat. But each was only seeking to gain time, and the English monarch was ever vague and indefinite in his expressions. "You are always talking of peace," said Malek-el-Adel, "but you make no proposal which may enable me to mediate a peace between you and the sultan." "The conditions of peace," said Richard, "are, that you give us back our land which you have wrested from us, and go back thence to where you came from."—"Sooner than consent to such conditions," returned Malek-el-Adel, "we will give ourselves, both horse and foot, to death." The conference was soon broken off with mutual displeasure.

BATTLE OF ARSOOF.

On the 7th September, the two armies, that of the Christians we are told counting a hundred thousand men, that of Saladin thrice the number, were close to each other in the vicinity of Arsoof. The king of England wished if possible to avoid an engagement, and reserve his entire strength for the siege of the important city of Ascalon. He divided his army into twelve corps, which were formed into five

divisions. The Templars led the first division, the knights of Anjou and Brittany the second; the third was headed by the king of Jerusalem and the knights of Poitou; the English and the Normans were in the fourth, around the car which displayed the royal banner; the Hospitallers and the brave James of Avesnes led the fifth, composed of the bravest and most select chivalry of the army; the rear was protected by a large portion of the foot, the archers and cross-bowmen being at the extremity. The baggage moved on the right between the line of march and the sea, the count of Champagne and his knights were on the left to repel the assaults of the Turks from the hills and the valleys which were close by. King Richard and the duke of Burgundy, each with a select body of knights, had no assigned place, but moved from front to flank or rear as they saw necessity. The whole army formed so compact a body that, as the historian expresses himself, an apple if thrown could not fall without touching a man or a horse. Strict orders were given that no one should engage a Turk till the signal of battle—two trumpets in the centre and as many at the front and rear—was heard to sound.

The army set forth early in the morning, the advance guard had reached the gardens of Arsoof, when their ears were assailed by the clangour of the trumpets, horns, and kettle-drums of the Moslems, and their loud war-cries of "God is great!" (*Allah akbar*,) and "There is no God but God;" (*La illah illa Allah*,) and they saw themselves enveloped by the countless host of the infidels, whose banners of va-

rious form and device fluttered everywhere over the plain and the hills. Turks, Ethiopians, and Bedoweens, assailed the rear, their arrows flew like hail, the infantry was thrown into confusion, the horses of the division of the Hospitallers fell in great numbers, transfixed by the arrows of the infidels; still the king declined to give battle. The Turks and the negroes, whose sable visages, red turbans, and iron clubs, inspired terror, emboldened by the apparent cowardice of the Christians, ventured to come so near as to strike them with their swords and clubs. The Hospitallers and their comrades were beside themselves with rage at being kept back from the fight. "O thou holy and valiant knight, St. George," cried a knight of the Hospital, "wilt thou thus abandon thy Christian knights, and expose us to the shame of being slaughtered like cattle by this accursed people without our being allowed to defend ourselves?" The master of the Hospital rode himself up to the king to remonstrate with him; but the only reply he got was, "Good master, you must endure it, no one can be everywhere." At length the chiefs met to decide on the time and mode of giving battle; but ere they had determined the battle was begun. The marshal of the Hospitallers and another knight had set their lances in rest and charged the Turks, who were harassing them; the other Hospitallers turned round their horses and followed their example; then the count of Champagne, James of Avesnes, the count of Dreux, and his brother the bishop of Beauvais, with all their chivalry, sprang forward to the conflict. The earl of Leicester made an impetuous charge on

the Turks, who had gotten between the army and the sea; the infantry, who inclosed and defended the chivalry of Poitou, Brittany, and Anjou, opened their ranks, and with a loud cry the knights rushed forth like a whirlwind on the infidel squadron, and cut down the Turks, who had dismounted to take the better aim. Richard himself, mounted on the famous brown horse of Isaac king of Cyprus, hastened to where the Hospitallers were engaged; each thrust of his lance unhorsed a Turk; each blow of his mighty sword severed a limb or cleft a head of an infidel. The dust was such that the Christian warriors could not distinguish, and they frequently wounded, each other. Saladin and Malek-el-Adel exposed their persons in vain, riding through the ranks of their warriors and cheering them to action, the rout became general; some fled to the hills, some cast themselves into the sea, others sought to conceal themselves in the thick foliage of the trees, where they were shot by the Christians; the plain was covered with the bodies of men, horses, and camels, with arms, and with banners. Richard, fearing an ambush, did not allow the pursuit to be continued beyond the summit of the neighbouring hills, and as the troops were returning they were furiously attacked by the brave Faki-ed-deen, at the head of seven hundred select horsemen with yellow banners, and twenty thousand foot, whom Saladin had kept as a reserve. The Christians were surrounded and would have been cut off but for the speedy aid of William des Barres, and then of the king himself. The victory was brilliant, thirty-two emirs and seven thousand men were the loss of the

Mussulmans, that of the Christians is stated at a tenth of the number. It was the opinion of both the Christian and Mohammedan writers, that if the pursuit had been kept up with vigour, that day would have broken the power of the Turks for a long time to come. When the pursuit had ceased, the fugitives slowly collected around the banners of the sultan which had not been moved, and the great kettle-drum sounded without ceasing to recall them to their prince. Of all the troops those of Mosul alone obtained the sultan's unqualified approbation. Throughout the night Saladin was engaged in attending to the wounded; he was deeply troubled in mind, and rejected all consolation; and "All the Moslems," says Boha-ed-deen, "who shared in the dangers of this day, were sick in body and in mind."

DESTRUCTION OF ASCALON.

RICHARD having won the victory led his army on to Arsoof, and they began to pitch their tents before the gate. While they were thus engaged the garrison made a sally, but they soon were driven back with loss, and the pilgrims reposed themselves in their tents. It was now discovered that the good knight James of Avesnes was absent, and next day the Templars and Hospitallers returning to the field of battle in search of him, found the bodies of him and three of his comrades lying surrounded by those of fifteen Turks whom they had slain. The body was brought to the camp and interred with every mark of respect befitting so brave and pious a knight

The army advanced the next day to Joppa, which they found deserted and destroyed, and they encamped in a wood of olives beside it. The abundance of fruits which they found here made them unwilling to quit this place, and as the ships which came from Acre were well freighted with venal beauties, they plunged, forgetful of their vows, into all their former vicious excesses.

Saladin meantime had reassembled his army and encamped at Ramla. He had razed the fortresses of Mirabel, Belmont, and other towns and castles, to prevent the Christians from becoming masters of them; and it was now debated in his council of war, if it would not be also advisable to destroy, with the same design, the Bride of Syria, as Ascalon was proudly called. This course was resolved on, and the sultan led the greater part of his army to accomplish it. "By God!" cried the noble Saladin, as he viewed its beauty and its strength, "I would sooner lose my sons than touch a stone of this town; but what God wills and the weal of the faith requires must be done." He then put up a fervent prayer that God would direct him to what was best, and seeing the utter impossibility of defending it against the Christians, he gave directions to the inhabitants to yield to necessity and to leave the town. The work of destruction was then distributed among the various divisions of his army, and though they wrought without ceasing, fourteen days were required for the levelling of the walls. When the magazines were emptied, and the mourning people

were departed, the town was set on fire. King Richard could not believe the intelligence when it reached him, till it was confirmed by the knights whom he sent in a ship to ascertain the truth.

King Richard now assembled a council of war to deliberate on what were best to be done in the present circumstances. His own opinion was that they should set forth and drive Saladin from Ascalon before he had completed the destruction of its walls; but the French and the other princes all declaring for rebuilding Joppa, and the people becoming turbulent in favour of it, the king was forced to give way. The work, however, advanced but slowly, and such numbers of the pilgrims returned to enjoy the delights of the taverns of Acre, that the strength of the army was fearfully diminished, while Malek-el-Adel was at hand with a considerable force. Richard directed king Guy to proceed to Acre, to make them return to their standards, and on his not succeeding, the English monarch went thither himself, and by threats and entreaties made them mindful of their vows. Richard was accompanied on his return to Joppa by his queen and sister.

One day, while the army lay at Joppa, king Richard, attended by a few knights, went out to amuse himself with hawking, and overcome by fatigue he laid himself on the ground and fell asleep. His slumber was suddenly broken by the noise of some Turks who were approaching. Richard jumped up, mounted his good brown horse, and put the Turks to flight; but, as he rashly pursued them, a

number of Turkish horsemen, who were in ambush, rushed out and surrounded him and his knights. Four knights were slain, the Turks were laying hold of Richard, when William Despréaux cried out that *he* was the Malek (*King*), and deceived by the richness of his attire the Turks made him their prisoner and let king Richard escape. William Despréaux was not long afterwards, as his fidelity deserved, exchanged against ten Turks of rank. On the present occasion the king lost one of his horses and his girdle filled with gold and precious stones. The horse was afterwards sent back by Malek-el-Adel, and the girdle was found and restored to him by a knight named William of Cornbury. All his knights joined, but in vain, in persuading the king to abstain in future from adventures in which he ran such hazard of his life.

At the end of October, when the season for military operations was passed, king Richard set his army in motion for Ramla. As they advanced, they were, as usual, harassed by the attacks of the Turkish horse, and they halted for fourteen days, while the king and the Templars repaired two ruined castles on the way to that town. On the 6th of November the esquires and servants who had gone out under the escort of the Templars to forage, were attacked by 4000 Turks who lay in ambush. The Templars dismounted, placed themselves back to back, and long defended themselves valiantly. The Turks were on the point of overpowering them, when Andrew of Savigny came to their aid with fifteen

lances; these were followed by the earls of Leicester and St. Paul. Four thousand Turks more, who were in ambush at the river, now entered the field and attacked the Christians; and soon king Richard himself appeared and charged the Turks with his usual ardour, declaring to those who would withhold him, that he had promised the earls of Leicester and St. Paul to follow them, and that if he broke his word he would not bear for another day the title of king. The conflict however was indecisive, each side claimed the victory.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

RICHARD had for some time past been weary of the war and anxious to return home, the refractory spirit of those under his command was highly offensive to him, and he was apprehensive of the designs of his brother, prince John, and of the king of France on his dominions. He had, therefore, in the month of September, while Saladin was at Ascalon, made proposals of peace, and the sultan was at that time very willing to agree to any equitable terms, as his troops were greatly discontented at the length and the hardships of the war. But he soon saw that he might derive advantage from the discord of his enemies, for an envoy from the marquis Conrad appeared in the Turkish camp at Ramla, proposing an alliance, on condition of the sultan giving up to him the towns of Sidon and Berytus; to this Saladin agreed, provided he would declare war against Richard, seize Ptole-

maïs, and set at liberty all the Moslem prisoners detained there and at Tyre. The sultan also sought to excite the jealousy of Richard, by the marked attention which he showed to the ambassadors from Tyre. Richard, however, still persisted in his proposals of peace, and when, on the 16th October, Malek-el-Adel had sent his secretary, Sonia, to him, he gave him a letter for his master to this purport:— "Franks and Moslems perish, the land is laid waste, and souls suffer as well as worldly goods. The holy war has had its due, and we have only now to come to an agreement about Jerusalem, the country, and the Holy Cross. As to that city, it is the seat of our religion, and we cannot give it up, though not a single one of us should remain alive; but we only ask as much of the country as is on this side of the Jordan. Do you give back the holy cross on which we set great value, but which you esteem only a common piece of wood, and let us, after this equitable peace, repose from our long toils." To this Saladin, after holding council with his emirs, replied. "Jerusalem is as holy, and even more so, to us as to you, for the prophet made his night journey from it to heaven, and the angels assemble there. Think not then that we will ever give it up. The country belongs to us from of old, and if you took it when the Mussulmans were weak, you have been since justly driven out of it. The Cross is in our eyes a gross deception, but we cannot give it out of our possession, unless some great advantage is to be gained for Islam by so doing."

Richard next proposed that the sultan's brother, Malek-el-Adel, should marry his sister, the widow of the king of Sicily, that Saladin should give up Jerusalem to them, and that they should be king and queen of Palestine; that the Cross should be restored, the Templars and Hospitallers put in possession of their castles and towns, and the prisoners exchanged on both sides. Malek-el-Adel, an ambitious man, listened eagerly to this proposal, and Saladin to gratify him gave his full consent, though he was still dubious of the sincerity of Richard. Whether the English monarch was sincere or not, is a matter which we have no means of ascertaining, our only authorities for the whole transaction being the Arabian writers; but when the envoy of Malek-el-Adel returned to him, he declared that his sister could not be induced to marry a Mussulman, but that he had held out hopes to her that Malek-el-Adel would become a Christian. This was on the 22nd October, and on the sixth of the following month, the day of the attack on the Templars at Ramla, Richard renewed the negotiations, by sending to complain of the hostilities of the Mussulmans, and to desire an interview with Malek-el-Adel. According to Vinisauf, Malek-el-Adel came into the Christian camp, and was magnificently entertained by order of king Richard, who could not see him as he had been bled that day, and next day Malek-el-Adel sent the king a present of seven camels and a magnificent tent, and again visited him: the Arabian writers say, that Richard and his train came to the advance posts of the Turkish

army, where Malek-el-Adel received him in a large Nubian tent and splendidly feasted him; and as Richard, who loved music, wished to hear the oriental mode of singing, Malek-el-Adel had a singer brought, with whose performance the king was greatly pleased. The subject of their conference, which lasted the entire day, is uncertain, but they parted in the utmost friendship, though each is accused by the opposite party of not having meant sincerely. Richard was still anxious for a personal interview with the sultan, but Saladin declined it on the same grounds of indecorum as before, and the king of England could not avoid expressing his admiration of his firmness and constancy. But Saladin had in reality no desire for peace, he treated merely to please his emirs who were weary of the war, and he privately told Boha-ed-deen, that in his mind it was perfectly absurd to conclude a peace with the Christians under the present circumstances; for if they did not succeed with the advantages they now had in driving the Franks out of Syria, a future Moslem prince might have neither the power nor the opportunity to do it, and that he would sooner sacrifice his life in the holy war than make an unsafe and disadvantageous peace.

Richard now sent to Saladin to excuse the refusal of his sister, by saying that he could not dispose of her hand without the consent of the pope, which he had sent to seek; and should he not succeed, he pledged himself to give to Malek-el-Adel his brother's daughter, for which he did not need the pontiff's con-

sent; he farther proposed, that the kingdom of Jerusalem should be divided between himself and Malek-el-Adel, and he required only a share in the holy city. When Saladin laid the matter before his council, and asked whether they preferred an alliance with the marquis of Tyre, and those princes who were his friends, against the king of England, or peace with that monarch, they were unanimous for peace; and the sultan found himself compelled to go on with the negotiation. Richard still continued lowering his demands, till at length taking offence at the sultan's repeated refusal of an interview, till peace had been concluded between them, he broke off the negotiation finally and totally, having gained by it among the Christians the character of indifference, and among the Moslems that of faithlessness and inconstancy.

The negotiations for peace did not put a stop to the feats of arms. King Richard and his knights frequently rode out in search of adventures, and the king was seen at times coming into the camp with the heads of slain Turks hanging at his saddle-bow, to convince his detractors that his zeal for the faith was not abated. The earl of Leicester, in one of his excursions, followed by a small train, engaged and put to flight a party of the Turks; three of the knights pursuing too hotly were made captives; the earl and the others hastened to rescue them, and though the earl was a man of a slender and delicate frame, they put to flight a hundred Turks, and chased them over a river. Suddenly four hundred horsemen, armed with lances, bows, and clubs, appeared, and in an in-

stant the Christians were enveloped. Several of the knights were thrown to the ground; the earl's own strength was almost gone, when Robert of Newbury gave him a fresh horse, but they were so completely exhausted that all they could do was to throw their arms round the necks of their horses, and suffer the Turks to pound them with their clubs and make them prisoners. But fortune brought to their aid the gallant Andrew de Savigny, Peter Despréaux, Henry de Grey, and other good and valiant knights. Savigny, with the aid of his comrades, slew a Turk of such size and strength, that the combined efforts of several knights did not suffice to take him prisoner. When the news of the danger of the earl of Leicester reached the camp, so many knights sprang to horse and hastened to the rescue that the Turks were speedily put to flight, and the earl, who had had two horses killed under him, returned in triumph, and "it was said of him," says Vinisauf, "that never in that age had there been a man of so small a body endowed with the magnificence of such exploits."

Saladin occupied himself during the winter in repairing the fortifications of Jerusalem; he set himself an example of zeal by carrying stones on his horse to the workmen as he rode to inspect their labours, and his example was followed by the cadis, fakees, emirs, and the people in general. Two thousand Christian captives were forced to aid in the work, which was completed in six months, firm and strong, say the Arabian writers, as a rock.

APPROACH TO JERUSALEM.

THE Christians were encamped in the ruins of Ramla and Lidda, where they kept their Christmas, and on New Year's-day (1192), to their joy and surprise they received the orders of king Richard to make themselves ready to march for Jerusalem. The transports produced by this command bore some resemblance to the holy ardour and enthusiasm of the first crusade; even the sick who were in Joppa had themselves carried on litters with the army, that they might enjoy a speedy view of the Holy City. Neither the fear of the Turks, who never spared the infirm, nor the severity of the weather, availed to keep them back, and with joyful acclamation the pilgrims trod the road leading to Jerusalem; and after many toils and difficulties they arrived at Beitnubah, within a day's journey of its sacred walls. But here their hopes were doomed to meet a disappointment. The Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, had all along advised the king against this design, and now in a council of war they argued with such force, by showing the strength of the town and of the Turkish army, and also the impolicy of the plan even in case of success, as the greater part of the pilgrims would, when they had performed their vows, return home before the kingdom had been recovered and put into a posture of defence, that the king was convinced, and he resolved to execute his original design of rebuilding and securing Ascalon. The word was given to re-

turn, and then the pilgrims, deceived in their fond hopes of soon visiting the holy sepulchre, gave vent to their rage and indignation; some tore their hair and visages, and uttered loud and bitter imprecations on those whose cowardice or caution had frustrated their hopes; others of milder mood shed tears of grief, and yielded themselves up to despair; and the difficulties of the road back to Ramla, no longer alleviated by hope and confidence, were almost insuperable. Richard stayed a few days at Ramla, and then set out with those who would follow him to Ascalon, the ruins of which town they reached after a toilsome march on the 20th of January. Most of the pilgrims, especially the French, had gone to Joppa or to Ptolemaïs.

RICHARD AT ASCALON.

Like Saladin, Richard encouraged the pilgrims by his own example in rebuilding the town; the French were induced, by his promise of letting them depart at Easter, to come and share in the work; and Richard, in one of his adventurous excursions, happening to come up near the fort of Daroom with a Turkish escort, who were conveying twelve hundred French prisoners to Egypt, boldly attacked them. The sight of the banner of the king of England now inspired terror wherever it appeared; the Turks fled, leaving twenty of their chief men prisoners, and the Christian captives accompanied their deliverer

to Ascalon. Soon after Easter the walls and towers of the town were raised, and Ascalon was again habitable.

During the time that the Christians were engaged in rebuilding Ascalon, the duke of Austria left the army and returned home, vowing vengeance against the king of England.

The cause of his enmity to Richard has been given variously by the historians. According to one account,* at the taking of Acre the duke planted his banner on one of the towers, Richard called him before him and asked of whom he held his land, and why he assumed royal privileges when he was but a duke and no king. The duke replied, that under God he held his land only of St. Peter. "I then tell you," replied the king, "that you will soon be without land." The duke was highly offended, but he concealed his indignation. Others add, that Richard had his banner pulled down from off the tower and cast into the mire. This is sufficiently in keeping with the brutal insolence of Richard's character to be true; but it is urged against it, that the duke still remained with the army, and even accepted money from the English king. We should, however, recollect how little of delicacy and fine feeling there was in the chivalry of those times.

Another account† says, that it was on the march to Ascalon that the indignity had been offered to his banner. His marshals, it is stated, having a dispute

* Hemingford. † Matthew Paris.

with a Norman knight about quarters, which the latter maintained he had first taken, Richard, without inquiry, had the banner of the duke of Austria torn down and flung into a pool, and on the duke's applying for redress he met with nothing but ridicule. Others again say,* that when Richard sent to require the duke to aid in rebuilding Ascalon, he made answer, that his father was neither a carpenter nor a stonemason; and when Richard met him, and renewed his application personally, he repeated the same words, at which the king was so offended that he gave him a kick, and then issued orders not to let the Austrian banner appear in his following.†

The continued negotiations between the marquis of Tyre and Saladin gave Richard great uneasiness, and he sent to remind Conrad of the oath which he had taken before him and king Philip, and to desire his appearance at Ascalon. But Conrad replied, that his feet should not bring *him*, nor *he* bring his feet, to Ascalon till the king had conferred with him at some other place. A castle near Ptolemaïs was fixed on as the place of interview, and Richard set forth during the Lent for that city. In the mean time, however, a violent quarrel had broken out between the Pisans and the Genoese in Ptolemaïs, and the marquis coming to the aid of the Genoese laid siege to the town, thinking he had gotten a good opportunity of performing his promise to Saladin;

* Brompton.

† We need not notice Sir W. Scott's pretty tale of the Scottish prince and his dog.

but the Pisans, though assailed by the Genoese within and the marquis without, made a gallant defence. They at the same time sent to inform king Richard of their danger, and their messengers meeting him at Cæsarea, he hastened his approach, which when Conrad learned he gave up the siege and returned to Tyre; and the king, by his efforts and admonitions, succeeded in restoring peace, at least externally, between the Pisans and the Genoese.

In the conference with the marquis Richard was unable to induce him to join the army, and on his return to Ptolemaïs he held an assembly of the barons, in which he accused Conrad of breach of faith, and that prince was pronounced to have forfeited his right to a portion of the revenues of the kingdom. Richard, apprehensive of hostilities on the part of the marquis, remained in Ptolemaïs till the Thursday before Easter; and on Palm Sunday he solemnly confirmed the honour of knighthood on a son of Malek-el-Adel, who had come to him for that purpose.

Richard kept his Easter at Ascalon, and entertained in his tents, which he had pitched before its walls, every one of the crusaders; and though the French had now nearly all abandoned him, he resolved on recommencing the war by the siege of the important places of Gaza and Daroom. But just at this time a messenger came to him out of England, informing him of the designs and violent acts of his brother John, and urging his speedy return. Without hesitation he assembled a council, and declared his resolution to

give up his projects in the Holy Land, and repair to the defence of his royal authority at home, leaving three hundred knights and two thousand select footmen behind him in his pay, and giving the other English pilgrims their free choice to stay or to depart. To his great surprise the prelates and barons then represented to him, that as the dispute between the marquis Conrad and Guy of Lusignan respecting the crown, was not at an end, and the latter had shown himself incapable of defending the kingdom, the king of England ought to give it to some prince of approved valour and wisdom, otherwise they were all determined to quit the Holy Land. Richard then asked them whether he should give it to Guy or to the marquis, and they unanimously named the latter. The king, seeing that it was useless to oppose them, having gently reproached them with their inconsistency, as they had been hitherto as adverse as himself to Conrad, sent the count of Champagne and two other knights to Tyre to invite the marquis to come and take the command of the army remaining for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to accompany him to the camp with all the honours due to a king of Jerusalem.

DEATH OF CONRAD.

THE surprise of the marquis, when the envoys announced to him his elevation to the regal dignity, was extreme, and raising his hands to heaven he

cried, "O God, thou true and gracious King, if thou hast chosen me for the ruler of thy kingdom, give me the crown in very deed; if not, give me not up to idle hopes." The general joy in Tyre was great, knights and esquires, who hoped soon to be led to battle by their gallant prince, expressed their satisfaction by tourneys, and talked without ceasing of the deeds they were to perform.

Conrad, however, still persisted in his negotiations with Saladin, and at length a treaty was concluded between them on the terms dictated by the sultan; namely, that Conrad should forthwith declare war against the other Christians; that each of the confederates should retain what he should conquer from them; that the towns taken by their joint forces should belong to the marquis, the booty and the Moslem captives found in them be given to the sultan; that finally, in case of the king of England giving up the land conquered by the Franks, it should, with the exception of Ascalon, belong to the marquis; and that, with respect to the division of the kingdom, he should have all that had been offered to king Richard. A want of confidence in the English king appears to have been the chief motive which urged Conrad to prefer the friendship and alliance of the sultan, and he declined the invitation to repair to Ascalon.

But the ambitious projects of the marquis were fated never to be realized. As he was returning to his palace on the 28th April, attended by only two knights, from an entertainment given him by the

bishop of Beauvais, two Assassins awaited his approach in a narrow street, the one presented a petition, and as he was reading it, both struck him with their daggers, exclaiming, "Thou shalt be neither marquis nor king." One of them was cut down on the spot, the other took refuge in a church, and when the wounded marquis was carried into it he rushed on him again and plunged his dagger into him. Conrad was, however, conveyed to his palace, where he expired, after having received the holy sacrament, and given his last instructions to his wife. His remaining murderer died on the rack.

The two Assassins, who were young men, had been for six months in Tyre, watching their opportunity to commit this deed; they had feigned conversion to Christinity, and had won the confidence of the marquis, and were, one or both, in his service. The question arises, by whom were they employed? The friends of the marquis, and the French in general, who were all ill-disposed towards king Richard, maintained that the Assassins had been employed by him; and king Philip affected to be so fearful of a similar attempt on himself that he surrounded his person with a guard of club-men, and even the contemporary Arabian writers say, that the Assassin when racked, declared, that Richard was the instigator of the deed. The English writers, in their zeal for their king, produced one or more documents in his defence, which have been suspected of being forged; and it has been argued of late days from the chivalry of his character that he was incapable of such a crime. Richard's proceedings in the Holy Land, however,

testify but little for his high and noble feelings, and the best vindication of him is, that those writers who accuse him are all of a late date; that the Arabians only repeated the report of Conrad's friends; that the letter of the chief of the Assassins of Syria to the king of France exculpating Richard cannot be proved not to be genuine; that Vinisauf, who was in Syria at the time, says that the Assassin when racked, declared that he was employed by no one but his chief the Sheikh-el-Jebel, which account is confirmed by the French writer Hugo Plagon and the Syrian bishop Aboo-'l-Faraj. One writer lays the crime on Humphrey of Thoron, whom the marquis, we may remember, had deprived of his wife and of his hopes of the kingdom; and an Arabian writer (Ibn-el-Athir) says, that Saladin had engaged Sinan, the Assassin chief, for ten thousand pieces of gold, to murder both the king of England and the marquis Conrad, but that Sinan not deeming it for his own interests to leave Saladin without an opponent, only performed his engagement in part. In a question of this kind the honour and the nobleness of the sultan ought perhaps to outweigh the assertion of a single writer.

The true account seems to be, that the murder originated solely with the chief of the Assassins, and the not improbable cause is given in the letter to the king of France and by Hugo Plagon; namely, that the marquis had seized and plundered a vessel belonging to some subjects of the Assassins, and had refused to give any satisfaction, though twice required to do so, and that therefore the Assassin chief had recourse to this means of punishing him.

Conrad had directed his wife not to open the gates of Tyre to any one but king Richard or his successor in the kingdom of Jerusalem. She therefore refused to admit the duke of Burgundy, who, with ten thousand French pilgrims, lay without the walls; and when a few days afterwards Henry of Champagne had, on the news of the marquis's death, returned to Tyre, the barons came to the sudden resolution of offering him the widow and the kingdom of Conrad. The French could make no objection to Henry, who was their countryman, and he accepted the offer made him, provided it met the approbation of his uncle the king of England, to whom he despatched messengers. Richard, without hesitation, gave his consent, only advising his nephew not to marry Isabel, who had lived in adultery with the marquis Conrad; but Henry, yielding to the wishes of the French and Tyrian barons, had his marriage celebrated on the 5th May; and king Richard on hearing of it expressed no displeasure, especially as Henry induced the French to return to the camp at Ascalon.

King Richard readily put the new king in possession of Acre, and all the other places held by the Christians in the Holy Land, and all persons, Mussulmans as well as Christians, were gratified by the elevation of a man of so many noble and amiable qualities as the count of Champagne. As to Guy of Lusignan, the king of England gave him Cyprus on condition of his paying the twenty-five thousand marks which the Templars had given him for it.

PROCEEDINGS OF KING RICHARD.

WITHOUT waiting for the French and the other pilgrims, king Richard resolved, with his own subjects and the Pisans alone, to attempt the reduction of the strong fort of Daroom. His military machines were conveyed thither by sea, and the king himself and all his barons wrought like common labourers in the task of getting them ashore and setting them up. The Turkish garrison defended themselves bravely, till, large breaches being made, and finding that they would not be able to hold out long, they offered to surrender on condition of a free passage. But the answer of Richard was, "Defend yourselves as well as you can;" and the battering was continued without intermission. At length the place was taken by storm, and the garrison were massacred; but the inhumanity of the English king was punished by the small amount of the plunder, for the garrison had destroyed all their stores and houghed the horses and camels. The Turks, who still defended the citadel, were granted their lives, but they were made slaves and treated with extreme cruelty. The siege had lasted but eight days, and it gratified the vanity of the king to have accomplished this enterprise without the aid of the French, and to be able to give Daroom as a present to king Henry when he joined him in his camp at that place.

Fresh messengers arriving from England with

accounts of the proceedings of prince John, king Richard openly declared that he would stay no longer in the Holy Land, to the loss of his royal crown and sceptre. But he hesitated, when he heard that all the barons, English, Normans, Anjevin, and French in general, who were at Ascalon, had come to the unanimous resolution of laying siege to Jerusalem, whether he stayed or not, and that all the pilgrims had testified their satisfaction at this resolve by festive songs, and dances, and illuminations. The knights, who were about the king, also expressed their determination to bear a part in the sacred enterprise; and Richard, in an agony of rage and grief at the little regard shown for his dignity, shut himself up in his tent. The situation in which he was placed was indeed truly painful; if he stayed he ran the chance of being deprived of all his dominions by his brother and the king of France, and the idea of the pilgrims conquering Jerusalem without him, was gall and wormwood to his proud soul. His whole character altered, he became abstracted and melancholy, and he passed his days in his tent alone.

One day his chaplain, William of Poitou, on entering his tent, was so moved by his altered appearance, as to burst into tears. "Sir chaplain," said the king, "I charge you on your allegiance to tell me what makes you so sorrowful." Whereupon, the chaplain taking courage, reminded the king of his former deeds, and implored him not to sully his fame by too precipitate a departure; he told him that the hopes of the Christians all lay in him, as the guar-

dian and protector of Christendom, and that if he left the Holy Land, it must become a possession for the heathen. "Wherefore, O valiant king," said he, "complete the work which you have begun; help still the Christian people, who expect their safety from you, and follow your path with the aid of Christ!" The king made no reply, but the words sank deep into his mind. Next morning he led back his troops to Ascalon.

When king Richard was seen to enter the town, all supposed that it was with an intention of immediately embarking for Europe; the surprise of the princes and the people therefore was great, when they heard him declare his resolution to stay in Palestine, no matter what accounts came to him from the West, till the Easter of the next year; and on Thursday, the 4th of June, he ordered his herald Philip to proclaim his resolve to the entire army, and to direct them to hold themselves in readiness to march for Jerusalem.

MARCH TO JERUSALEM.

THE effect of the name of Jerusalem on the minds of the pilgrims, and the ardour and enthusiasm which it inspired was such, that had king Richard possessed the ordinary talents of a commander, or been serious in his purpose of laying siege to the Holy City, it must have fallen into his hands; but he fluctuated continually between his desire to return home, and his jealous fears of the conquest being achieved

without him; he acted with so much imprudence and inconsistency, and gave such needless offence to the pilgrims in general, that he made them suspect him of having no real desire of recovering the Holy City, and he thus rendered the numbers and the valour of the army of no avail. Yet how much superior in force was it to that with which Godfrey of Bouillon, and his gallant companions, had won the realm of Jerusalem! Vinisauf, who was an eye-witness, thus describes its appearance as it marched from Ascalon:—

"There were to be seen innumerable flying banners, ensigns, and pennons of various kinds; the sons of so many mothers, born in so many countries, so many arms of every form, crests of helmets glittering with gems, shining corselets, flaming lions rampant on shields, or golden flying dragons, lofty steeds eager to bound away, whose bridles, as they disdained to be held, foamed with their ardour, so many mules, so many lances glittering with sharp heads, the air shone with the torch of the swords; so many valiant and chosen soldiers as, in my opinion, would suffice for a greater multitude of Turks, and enough to crush or to sustain a greater than themselves." One spirit animated the whole, each aided the other, the younger knights gave their horses to the poor to carry their baggage, and marched on foot. The king of England alone shared not in the common enthusiasm; he led the army by slow marches, and though they had left Ascalon on Sunday the 7th June, they did not arrive at Beitnubah until the 11th, where he

detained them an entire month, under the pretext of waiting for king Henry and the other pilgrims.

While the pilgrims were encamped at Beitnubah various conflicts with the Turks occurred, and king Richard often engaged in those adventures, in which he loved so much to display his prowess. On the day after the army had encamped, information was brought in that the Turks were lurking in the mountains, Richard rode at once in search of them as far as the well of Emmaüs, where he killed twenty, took Saladin's herald prisoner, captured slaves, horses, camels, and mules, laden with spices, and costly silken garments, and in the pursuit he had a distant view of the Holy City. A few days afterwards a Christian caravan coming from Joppa to the camp, was fallen on by a body of Turks and Arabs, the escort were decoyed into an ambush, and it was with difficulty that the caravan was saved by the earl of Leicester, who hastened with his knights to its aid.

A native Arab named Bernhard, and two Syrians, who, for a hundred marks of silver each, had undertaken to spy out the dominions of Saladin as far as Caïro, now arrived with information that troops were marching from Egypt to join the army of Saladin, and that rich caravans of that country had taken the advantage of their protection. Richard deemed it advisable to invite the duke of Burgundy to take a share in this adventure. It was agreed that the French should have a third of the spoil, and in the beginning of a moonlight night the king set out with five hundred knights, and a thousand picked foot-

men, and directed his march to Ascalon. Having gotten some provisions there, they advanced to meet the caravans, to whose defence Saladin had sent five hundred horsemen, as soon as his spies had given him information of the departure of king Richard. One of his Arab spies now came to tell the king that one of the caravans had arrived at a round well in the neighbourhood of Hebron, intending to pass the night there. Towards evening he sent another Arab, and two Turcopoles, or light horsemen, dressed as Arabs, to bring more exact intelligence. When they approached the station of the troops, and the caravans, some of the Saracens rode out to meet them, and to enquire who they were, and whence they came, and for what purpose. The Arab making a sign to his companions to be silent, lest their speech should betray them, replied that they were Arabs returning from a plundering excursion into the land of Ascalon. But the interrogators made answer that that was not true, and that they knew they were some of those cursed apostates who served the king of England. The Bedoween denied the charge, the Saracens went to lay hold on them, and they owed their safety to the swiftness of their horses, as they were pursued a long way, and shot at with arrows.

King Richard having learned the state of things gave orders to feed the horses, and when night was come they set forward. On coming near the enemy he formed his troops, taking his own station in the van, and giving the rear to the French, and his herald proclaimed that no one should attempt to

plunder so long as the battle lasted. Day now broke, and the scouts came in with information that the caravans and the troops were putting themselves in motion. Richard sent out the archers and crossbowmen to impede the Saracens, and bring them to action, and then advanced with his knights. The Saracen emirs fought gallantly, and cheered their men by voice and example; but nothing could withstand the force and the impetuosity of the Christian knights; the French in particular, incited by emulation, fought with the utmost skill and valour. The flight of the Saracens soon became general; some fled to the fort of Carac, others into the desert, others back to Egypt. The caravans which had halted during the engagement, fell, for the greater part, into the hands of the victors; a part was saved by the horsemen, whom Saladin had sent, and who had gone on before; but returned when they heard what had happened, and killing the foot-men who were plundering, brought a part of the caravan into the mountains of Hebron. Several of the camels and dromedaries made their escape; but seventeen hundred were captured; the asses and mules were without number; wheat, barley, flour, biscuit, and other provisions, medicines, sugar, pepper, cinnamon, wax, coined and uncoined gold and silver, arms, and armour of various kinds, purple and silken garments, tents, and embroidered cushions, various silver utensils, and handsome chessboards, became the prey of the victors. King Richard returned by Ramla to Beitnubah, and he bestowed a reasonable

part of the booty on those who had not shared in the expedition. The joy of the Christians now received a farther augmentation by the appearance of the bishop of Lidda, attended by a great number of pious men and women, who presented king Richard with a piece of the true cross, and soon afterwards the abbot of St. Elias, an old man, with a venerable beard, came and told the king that he had a genuine piece of the cross, which he had preserved, though more than once put to the torture by Saladin to make him give it up. He conducted the king to where it was; and it was found, and carried into the camp in solemn procession, and presented to the kisses of the faithful.

While the pilgrims were thus confidently anticipating the recovery of the Holy City, in Jerusalem all was apprehension and despondency. The reparation of the walls, though far advanced, was not completed; the Turks who had been dismissed in the winter had not returned to the standard of the sultan, Malek-el-Adel and Malek-el-Afdel were away in Mesopotamia with a large portion of the army, the guards of the sultan and a part of the Egyptian troops alone remained for the defence of the Holy City; and it is not at all improbable that, as many of the pilgrims thought, the city would have surrendered or been deserted, if they had advanced at once to lay siege to it. Saladin himself was ill in health, and incapable of his customary exertions.

The sultan expecting an immediate advance of the Christian army, when he heard of the return of king

Richard from his expedition to Hebron, and of the arrival of king Henry with reinforcements, sent urgent entreaties to the Turkish troops to come to his aid, and at the same time he filled up all the cisterns for two miles round Jerusalem, to deprive the enemy of water. In the council of war which he assembled, the cadi Boha-ed-deen, by his directions, entreated the emirs to perseverance in the holy war; he cited the example of the companions of the prophet who in a similar time of peril had sworn to fight even to the death. "Let us then," said he, "follow this glorious example, and swear unanimously in the mosk of the khalif Omar to die with weapons in our hands, it may be that this resolution will give us a victory over the enemy." No one made answer; "they were as still," to use the words of the cadi, "as if birds were sitting on their heads."* At length the sultan spake from his throne. "Praise be unto God and a blessing on the prophet! know that ye are now the only army of Islam and its only defence, that the lives and properties and children of the Moslems are committed to you, and that besides you no Moslem dares to go against this foe, who if you, which God avert, retire, will roll up these countries as the angel of judgment rolls up the book in which the actions of men are written down. You have not merely undertaken the defence of these countries, and enjoy for so doing all that our treasury can offer you, but the Moslems of other countries also depend upon

* See above, page 151.

your protection." Then rose Seif-ed-deen Meshtoob, the brave defender of Acre. "My lord," said he, "we are thy servants and slaves; thou hast heaped benefits upon us, hast made us great and renowned, and hast given us so much that nothing is our own save our necks, and these we give into thy hand: we swear by God, that none of us will quit thee so long as we live." All present assented to what the valiant emir spoke, and Saladin expressed his joy by giving a splendid banquet.

But when his confidential friends assembled around him for the evening prayer, as they were wont, they found him no longer cheerful. As they were going away he detained Boha-ed-deen, and told him that the Mamlooks, when they had heard the resolve of the emirs, had declared against standing a siege in Jerusalem, where the fate of the garrison of Acre perhaps awaited them, and pronounced it better to meet the enemy in the open field, where a victory would restore to Islam all that it had lost; or in case of defeat, the army might reserve itself for another time, and that the city of Jerusalem, which Islam had before been obliged to part with, should be then abandoned; but that if the sultan would compel his warriors to defend the town, in that case either himself or one of his near relatives should stay to command them. Boha-ed-deen spent the greater part of the night in comforting and exhorting the sultan, and when he returned to him at the time of morning prayer, he advised him to seek the favour and the protection of God on that holy day, (it was

Friday,) by private alms-giving, by fervent prayer, and by twice bowing his knees in the mosk of Omar. When a few hours afterwards the cadi was performing his devotions near his master in the mosk, he marked with delight the tears of sadness which rolled down the cheeks of the sultan during his internal prayer. The confidence of Saladin now revived, he resolved not to yield the Holy City to the infidels, and he appointed his kinsman, Maj-ed-deen Ferukh Shah, the prince of Baalbek, to be governor of Jerusalem.

But the apprehensions of the sultan were groundless, the Christian leaders thought of nothing less than of attempting the recovery of the Holy City, and the very next morning he learned that they were about to commence their retreat.

DISUNION AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

The king of England had again begun to waver in his resolution, and such was the waywardness of his character, that the eagerness which the French manifested for advancing against Jerusalem, acted as a motive to make him adverse to taking that course. In a council of war, he went over all the difficulties which stood in the way of such an undertaking, such as the distance from the sea, and the danger of their convoys being interrupted by the Turkish horsemen, who lay in the mountains between Ramla and Jerusalem, the danger to be apprehended of Saladin placing an army in their rear, as he had done at Acre,

while now their army was far less numerous than it had been at that time; when, moreover, their communication with the sea was unimpeded—difficulties which were all as apparent before the army left Ascalon as they could be now. In conclusion, he declared his willingness, in case of their being resolved on the siege, to go as their companion, but not to expose himself to the blame attached to miscarriage by bearing the chief command, and he advised to consult the Templars and Hospitallers, who were better acquainted with the nature of the country than they were, whether it would be more advisable to attempt the capture of Jerusalem or to turn their arms against Berytus and Damascus. A council of twenty, composed of five Templars, five Hospitallers, as many French, and as many Syrian barons, was then chosen and sworn, and it was resolved that all the pilgrims should abide by their decision. This council, after some deliberation, declared an expedition against Egypt to be the most likely to be attended with success. The French, however, still persisted in their desire to besiege the Holy City, but Richard declared himself vehemently for the Egyptian expedition, offering his fleet, all the aid in his power to such pilgrims as were in want of money or any thing else, and to keep in his pay seven hundred knights and two thousand foot-men; while he declared, that in case of any other undertaking being resolved upon, he and his knights would take a share in it, but he would do no more.

All this had taken place before the expedition to

Hebron, and on his return the dispute was renewed. The council still adhered to their former opinion, strengthened now by the tidings of Saladin having filled up the wells; the French urged, and with good reason, whatever their motives may have been, the folly of an attack upon Egypt. There had never been any cordiality between the duke of Burgundy and king Richard, who suspected that the duke had received and acted on directions from king Philip, to impede the operations of the king of England as far as was in his power, and he soon found an opportunity of making a charge of treachery to the common cause against him.

One night one of king Richard's scouts heard in the dark the trampling of men and camels coming down the mountains, and he watched and saw five laden camels enter the camp and proceed to the quarters of the duke of Burgundy. He immediately hastened with the intelligence to king Richard, who sent a party to waylay and seize the Saracens on their return. When they were brought before him he put them to the torture, and they confessed that they had brought the camels laden with presents from Saladin to the duke of Burgundy. Richard, forgetting how often he had himself received gifts from the sultan, though perhaps in a more open manner, fell into a rage, summoned the duke before him, and there swore on the relics, in presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem and the prior of Bethlehem, that he was ready that moment to march against Jerusalem, and he called upon the duke to take the same

oath. On his hesitating, Richard called him a traitor, charged him with privy dealing with the heathens, and on the duke's denial of the charge, he brought forth his prisoners, made them repeat their confession on the rack, and then led them out and shot them to death with arrows, in the presence of the entire army, who knew not who they were or what was their crime.

All harmony between the pilgrims was now at an end; they were split into two hostile parties, the duke of Burgundy had satirical songs made on the king of England, and sung publicly in the camp, and the English monarch took his satisfaction in kind, a task which, according to his historian, cost him but little trouble, as the French, by their offensive conduct in the camp, had afforded ample room for reproach. Neither Egypt nor Jerusalem was now spoken of, and on the 4th July, the disappointed pilgrims set out on their return for Ramla, harassed as usual by the Turkish light horse, and no longer cheered by the hopes which had formerly supported their spirits. It is said, that a short time before the army left Beitnubah, one of his knights called out to king Richard, "Sire, come hither and I will show you Jerusalem." Richard drew his surcoat over his face and said, "O good Lord God, suffer me not, I beseech thee, to behold thy Holy City, since I cannot deliver it out of the hands of thine enemies." On the second day he pitched his camp near Ramla, and renewed his negotiations for peace with Saladin.

RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS.

THE negotiation was opened by king Henry's seeking, at the desire of king Richard, peace and friendship with the sultan. When this proposal had been well received by Saladin, Richard sent Yûssuf-el-Hajee *(Pilgrim)*, a servant of Seif-ed-deen Meshtoob, who was his prisoner, along with two Christians, as it were to treat with his master about the liberation of Kara Koosh, who was still in captivity. This was on the day that king Richard encamped at Ramla, and he desired the envoy to tell his master that the Mussulmans should not build any hopes on the retreat of the Christians, that the ram retires only to butt with the greater force, and that the emir would do well to advise the sultan to peace. But Saladin and his emirs knew too well the real state of affairs with the crusaders, to be moved by this fanfaronade; and Richard soon confirmed them in their opinion, by lowering his demands and almost descending to entreaty. He now required, besides the division of the country with king Henry, to which Saladin had already consented, only the possession of the church of the Resurrection, and as the sultan seemed inclined to agree to this, Richard sent a present of two hawks by another envoy, and required permission for twenty Christians to reside in the castle of Jerusalem. This the sultan refused; he would only allow the Latins to visit the Holy City as pilgrims, but he consented to levy no tax on them. He made a corresponding re-

turn to the present of the English king, but he declined sending an emir, as Richard had requested, to the Christian camp, to swear in his name to the peace if it should be agreed on. Richard finally proposed, that Christians and Moslems should remain as they then were; the former having possession of all the coast from Antioch to Daroom, the three places which the Saracens held on the coast being given up to them, and Antioch included in the treaty. To this Saladin, after advising with his emirs, replied, that he was already in treaty with the people of Antioch, and that his conduct towards them would be regulated by the answer his envoys should bring him; that as king Richard truly said, the three towns on the coast were a small matter to him, but that still he would not give them up, as it was unseemly for Moslems to yield to Christians what God had given them; that finally, he must insist on the demolition of Ascalon, but that king Richard might have the town of Lidda in compensation for the money which the rebuilding of that town had cost him. This reiterated demand of the demolition of Ascalon determined Richard to break off all negotiation; he declared that he would not touch a stone of that town; he sent three hundred knights to demolish Daroom, which he did not consider tenable, and he strengthened the garrison of Ascalon. After a short stay at Joppa, he went to Acre, where he was rejoined by the knights (mostly Templars and Hospitallers) whom he had sent to Daroom.

It is worthy of attention, as it shows the opinion which the Mussulmans had of the duplicity and want of faith of king Richard, to read Boha-ed-deen's observations on the last proposal which he sent. "We observed," says he, "after he (the envoy) had delivered this proposal of king Richard, the cunning shifting from moderation to haughtiness, with which he sought to attain his object; for the king of England, whom God curse! could no longer put off his return home, and his whole conduct was directed by the necessity he was under of returning home. It was only through the help of God, that the Moslems escaped the snares which this enemy, the most artful and enterprising of the enemies with whom we had to do, laid for them." Though in fact, cunning is not unfrequently the concomitant of that brutal ferocious valour which distinguished Richard, yet in this case the Moslems did him injustice. His want of fixedness of purpose was the real cause of his vacillation. Apprehension of the loss of his paternal dominions, during his absence, was ever struggling in his bosom with the love of fame, and the shame of quitting the Holy Land without having attained the object for which he came; and this gave to all his negotiations with the Mussulmans an appearance of duplicity and artifice, which did not really belong to them.

SIEGE OF JOPPA.

SALADIN, who was now joined by the troops of Aleppo, under his son Malek-ed-Daher, (*Conquering King*,) and by his brother Malek-el-Adel, found that he might retaliate on his foes, by becoming the assailant in his turn, and he resolved on the siege of Joppa. His army of twenty thousand horsemen, and a vast number of foot-men, appeared before its walls on the 28th July, and surrounded it on the land side, the two wings resting on the sea-shore. The Christians in the town did not exceed five thousand, of whom one half were sick, and the remainder unskilled in the management of military machines; but the valour and heroism with which they defended themselves, excited the surprise and the admiration of the Mussulmans. Saladin himself commanded the centre of his army; the left wing was under Malek-el-Adel, the right under Malek-ed-Daher. Machines were erected against the walls, and the miners commenced their underground operations; but the besieged wrought against them and chased them out of their galleries. On the third day of the siege, as a part of the walls had been thrown down, the besieged offered to treat, and the sultan was willing to grant them the same conditions which he had given to the people of Jerusalem. They asked a truce of two days till the following Saturday, to see if they should be relieved, but this the sultan refused, and on the following day a general assault was made by the

Turkish army. During the assault, the east gate of the town, with two perches of the wall, was thrown down by the miners, and the Turks rushed in with a loud cry, but instantly piles of wood which had been placed there blazed up, and the heat and the flame together repelled them; when it had subsided, a wall of spears opposed their progress and forced them to retire. The besieged no longer shut their gates, they harassed the besiegers with constant sallies, while the bows and crossbows, without ceasing, rained arrows and bolts from the walls.

There was, however, a timid party in Joppa, among whom were the castellan Alberic of Rheims, and several of the principal knights, and they sent on this day two persons to treat with Saladin, who agreed to exchange them against Moslem captives, horsemen against horsemen, footmen against footmen, and to give the remainder of the people the same terms that he had given at Jerusalem. When they requested time to communicate these terms to those who had sent them, "I cannot," said he, "disturb the Moslems in the work which they have begun; but go to your companions and tell them to retire into the castle and to abandon the town to my people." The Christians hurried to the castle, the Turks rushed in, slaughtered the sick pilgrims whom they found in the houses, and killed several of those who had not yet gotten into the castle; a great booty, in which was a large portion of what had been taken at Hebron, was found, but the Mamlooks stood at the gates and forced the unwilling soldiers to give

up what they had taken. Those in the castle declared their readiness to accept the terms offered, and though in the morning three Christian ships appeared before the harbour, they persisted in their determination to surrender. Boha-ed-deen, accompanied by three emirs and a treasurer, had already entered the castle to take an inventory of the arms and stores, the Christians were ready to go out, when the emir Gordeek humanely proposed that they should not stir till he had driven the plundering Turks out of the town, lest they might rob and ill-treat them. This humanity of the emir lost the sultan the town and castle. Forty-nine men with their wives and their horses had left the castle, when the Christian fleet was seen to increase to thirty-five sail, and the banner of king Richard was discerned: the Christians, cheered by the sight, broke off the treaty, made a sally into the town, chased the Turks out of it, and returned to the castle. Still the timid party were anxious to treat; the patriarch of Jerusalem, the castellan, and several knights were in the Turkish camp, and Saladin was about to sign the treaty, when Boha-ed-deen came with tidings that king Richard had landed from his red-hulled and red-sailed ship; that he had been followed by all his troops, and that he had driven the Mussulmans from the harbour and the town. Saladin immediately laid the envoys in irons, and leaving behind a large portion of the booty, retired with his army to Yasoor on the way to Ramla.

King Richard had been making preparations for

his departure when messengers came to inform him of the danger of Joppa. He instantly caused his herald to summon the pilgrims to join in its relief; the Pisans, Genoese, and most of the other pilgrims obeyed the summons, but the French, declaring that they would have nothing more to do with him, set out for Tyre, where the duke of Burgundy fell sick, lost his reason, and died on the eighth day after his arrival—a judgment of God on him, as the friends of king Richard interpreted the event. Richard, accompanied by the gallant earl of Leicester and other valiant knights, got on board of his ships and made sail for Joppa, while king Henry led the Templars, Hospitallers, the Pisans, Genoese, and other pilgrims thither by land; but the fleet was retarded by adverse winds, and the army by the desultory warfare of the Turks. When the king came into the harbour, and saw the Turkish standards on the walls, and the Turks in great numbers on the shore, he thought he was arrived too late, and he hesitated to land, till a priest jumped down from the castle wall on the sandy beach of the harbour, and being unhurt by his fall, ran into the sea, and making his way to the king, informed him of the true state of things; then, without a moment's hesitation, Richard plunged up to his waist into the sea and advanced to the shore. His knights followed his example, the king plied his crossbow stoutly, the Turks fled with loud outcries, and Richard had all the casks, planks, and pieces of wood which could be got, piled to form a bulwark to protect the land-

ing of his men. Having found a flight of steps belonging to a house of the Templars adjoining the wall, he mounted it and alone entered the town, in which there were three thousand Turks, but the gates were soon forced by the pilgrims. The Turks, when they beheld the banner of the king of England, fled with precipitation, and the knights, though they had but three horses, pursued them for a space of two miles. Richard then pitched his tent on the very spot which had been occupied by that of Saladin. On the following day he employed himself in repairing with dry stone the breaches of the walls, and he was joined by king Henry, and a part of his troops who came by sea, the greater portion still remaining at Cæsarea.

King Richard's anxiety for peace was such, that on the very evening of the day of his arrival at Joppa, he sent Aboo Beker, the chamberlain of prince Malek-el-Adel, with proposals to Saladin, representing that the war was equally destructive to both parties, and avowing his extreme desire to return to the defence of his realms beyond sea. Saladin replied, that the only subject of dispute between them were Ascalon and Joppa, and as the latter place was now ruined and of no value, that king Richard ought to content himself with the coast from Tyre to Cæsarea. Richard then proposed to hold these towns, after the European mode, in fief of Saladin, and to engage to support him in all his wars. The sultan offered to divide them, leaving Joppa to the king of England. Richard

threatened to pass the winter in Syria, if Ascalon were not resigned to him. To this the sultan, after having as usual taken counsel with his emirs, replied, "We can in no wise leave Ascalon in thy hands, spend if thou wilt the winter in this land, for know that as soon as thou quittest this land, it will come again under our power, which, if it please God, will also be the case even if thou stay. If it is a light matter to thee who art a young man, and as such still findest pleasure in the delights of this world, to abide in these regions, separated from thy country by a journey of two months, how much less heavy must the war for the cause of God be to me who am old, and have long since renounced the joys of this world, in the midst of my empire, and among my children and my friends, where all is at my command, and troops adapted for every season, for summer and for winter, assemble around me at my signal. Wherefore it is my firm resolve to wage the war with thee, until God, after his decrees, has given the victory to me or to thee." The Christian envoy requested permission to visit Malek-el-Adel, who was sick, which was granted, and that prince proposed an interview with king Richard. But the English monarch had again changed his mind, he refused to admit Aboo Beker into Joppa, and directed him to tell the sultan, that he was weary of chaffering about peace, and that he was resolved to spend the winter in Syria.

VALOUR OF KING RICHARD.

KING RICHARD'S pride was wounded by the cold reception which the sultan had given to his proposals for peace, and he was soon afterwards exasperated by an attempt to make him prisoner in his tent. Saladin had formed a body of three hundred Arabs, whose business it was to steal into the Christian camp at night, to kill or carry away those who fell into their hands, and to take off horses, money, and everything else they could find. During the siege of Acre, and afterwards, these men had done the Christians a great deal of injury ; and as king Richard now lay outside of Joppa with a few men, in only about ten tents, they resolved to attempt to seize him on a moonlight night, the 4th August. But ere they could settle among themselves who should go on foot to seize the king, and who remain on horseback to cut off his retreat to the town, day came and disconcerted their project. Just at that moment a Genoese discerned the glitter of helmets on the verge of the horizon, and he gave the alarm ; another rushed into the king's tent crying, "O my king, we are all dead men." "Thou diest by my hand," said the king, "if thou art not silent," and scarcely had he time to put on his shirt of mail, when the Turks were on them, in seven corps, each of a thousand men. The forces of the king of England did not on the largest computation exceed seventeen mounted knights, and a thousand other knights,

and soldiers, and neither he nor his knights had had time to put on their leg-armour. He drew up his men in a compact body, making the dismounted knights kneel down on one knee covered with their shields and protruding their lances, behind every two of them he placed a cross-bowyer, with his man to bend and charge his cross-bow. He exhorted them in an animated speech, concluding with a solemn oath, that he would strike off the head of the first man who turned and fled. He had hardly spoken, when the Turks made a furious charge; division after division assailed the Christian phalanx, and were repelled. During nearly half an hour, the Turks stood so close to them, that the points of their lances touched; but not a dart was shot, and they only menaced each other with swords and gestures. At length the Turks retired; the king then made the crossbow-men advance, and the whole body move on in close order: himself and his mounted knights laid their lances in the rest and charged the heathens. King Richard on this memorable day enacted prodigies of valour; with the speed of lightning he flew from one part of the field to another, slaying the Turks and relieving his own knights. A hundred Turks surrounded him, but each as he ventured to approach him paid for his temerity with the loss of his head or a limb; of one valiant emir he smote off at a blow the head, right shoulder, and arm. In the very midst of the fight, a Turk brought the king of England two fine Arabian horses, the gift of Malek-el-Adel, and a message from him to use

them to free him out of the great danger in which he stood. This acceptable and timely present of the noble Mussulman was afterwards suitably returned. Richard learning that three thousand Turks had broken into the town, kept his men in ignorance of it, and he took an opportunity of going back with a few knights and crossbow-men ; and such was the terror which his presence inspired, that the infidels all fled before him. He then returned to the field of battle, and by evening the rout of the Turks was complete. The Christians had lost but one knight, seven hundred Turks and fifteen hundred horses lay dead on the plain. Richard, who for his prowess on this day was compared with Hector, Alexander, Judas Maccabæus, and Roland, had used his sword so vigorously that his right hand was all one blister: his knights had emulated his valour, but all agreed that it was only by the aid of God that a handful of men had triumphed over such numbers.

Saladin at first sharply rebuked his troops for their cowardice, for it was said that the king of England had ridden through their ranks from right to left without any one venturing to oppose him, and had even dismounted and eaten his mid-day meal on the ground between the two armies. But the noble sultan soon forgave all, and entertained his emirs at a banquet in the evening. He led his army back to Natroon, and thence proceeded to Jerusalem, where he was joined by the troops of Mosul and Aleppo, and by a corps from Egypt.

PEACE BETWEEN RICHARD AND SALADIN.

The Christians derived no advantage from their victory; the French, who were at Cæsarea, refused to advance, the pilgrims in general were ill disposed towards king Richard, and he and several of his knights fell sick. Saladin again advanced to Ramla, and his light horse extended their excursions to the gates of Joppa. King Richard, having in vain sought to rouse the pilgrims to vigorous measures, determined to have peace at any price; and Saladin, aware how tired of the war his Turkish troops were, was not averse to an arrangement. Accordingly, on the king of England's sending to request a supply of snow and fruits, they were sent to him in abundance, and Richard took this occasion of inviting Aboo Beker to visit him, with whom he sent back a knight requesting Malek-el-Adel to mediate a peace between him and the sultan; adding that Saladin might as well give up his demand of Ascalon, as after he was gone he would find it easy to deal with the few Christians who would remain; that he himself asked nothing but an honourable peace, which would not injure him in the minds of his fellow Christians; and that if the sultan insisted on Ascalon, he should at least pay him what the rebuilding of it had cost him. But such was the impatience of the English king, that without waiting for the return of his envoys from Malek-el-Adel, he sent the very next evening five others to the camp of

Saladin, offering to give up his claim on Ascalon; yet when Saladin sent an emir to him, he seemed disposed to retract, till his own envoys openly declared that he had empowered them to forego his claim of compensation. He then expressed his willingness to abide by all that they had agreed to.

At length it was settled that a truce for three years, to commence from the 2d September 1192, should be made; that Ascalon should be razed at the joint labour and expense of the Christians and the Moslems; that the country from Tyre to Joppa, including Ramla and Lidda, should belong to the Christians; that all the Mohammedan states, particularly that of the Assassins on the one side, and the principality of Antioch and the lordship of Tiberias on the other, should be included in the truce; that finally, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem should be free and untaxed.

Malek-el-Adel set out for Joppa, and after having remained some time in his tent outside of the gate, he was admitted into the town, and conducted to the bed-side of king Richard, who, on his presenting him with the draught of the treaty, said, that in his present state he was unable to read it, but that he had already ratified the peace, and that all particulars might be arranged with king Henry and the barons of the Holy Land. These without delay accepted the terms; and as Saladin had directed his brother to obtain, if possible, the cession of Ramla or Lidda, or at least a partition of these towns, they

consented to their being divided between the Moslems and the Christians. They, however, excused themselves from swearing to the treaty on that day, as they had already eaten, and it was not the custom for them to swear except when fasting. Malek-el-Adel readily consented to defer the ceremony, and on the following day they all assembled in the chamber of king Richard. The king of England declined taking the oath, alleging that it was not the custom of the kings of the Franks to swear in their own persons; king Henry and Balian of Ibelin took the oaths in the hands of Malek-el-Adel, and the Templars, Hospitallers, and the other barons, recognised the treaty as binding on them. That same evening, Balian of Ibelin and Humphrey of Thoron, attended by a splendid train, and accompanied by prince Malek-el-Adel, set out for the camp of Saladin, where they were assigned a magnificent tent, in which they stayed while Malek-el-Adel gave his brother an account of what he had done. The sultan expressed his pleasure at his not having pressed king Richard to take the oath. On the following day the sultan himself, his brother, his sons, and all the emirs who were present, swore to the treaty, and he bound himself to make such of his tributaries as were absent swear to it also. The sultan's herald proclaimed forthwith throughout the camp, that henceforward there would be free and secure intercourse between the Moslems and the Christians; and on the 7th September the emir Alam-ed-deen Keisar set out at the

head of the workmen of both sides to demolish Ascalon. Since that time the Bride of Syria has lain a heap of ruins.

The publication of the truce caused great joy among the troops of Saladin, who were weary of the war, a joy in which their sultan did not share, knowing that the continued abode of the Christians in the East was pregnant with danger to Islam, and that by vigour and perseverance they might, in despite of the valour of Richard, be expelled on the present occasion. The Christians, particularly the French, whose lukewarmness had been in a great measure the occasion of it, were loud in their reproaches of king Richard as a traitor to the cause of God. It is remarkable, whatever may have been the cause, that the True Cross, which in the early negotiations had seemed a matter of such importance, was not once mentioned on the present occasion. It was perhaps without justice, that Richard was reproached with not having covenanted for the release or the exchange of the Christian captives, for this charge would be equally strong against Saladin, and it remains to be shown how better terms could have been obtained from the sultan, who was so unwilling to treat at all.

Some time afterwards, king Richard sent to inform Saladin that he had only concluded the truce in order to return home to collect money and troops to complete the conquest of the Holy Land. The sultan courteously replied, that if God had decreed to give Jerusalem into other hands, no one had juster claims to rule over that holy city than the gallant king of England.

THE PILGRIMS AT JERUSALEM.

WHILE Saladin remained encamped at Natroon, the greatest confidence and harmony prevailed between those who had lately combated each other with such animosity; the Christians visited the camp of the Moslems, and the Turks and Saracens freely entered the Christian camp and the town of Joppa. Those who were anxious to perform their pilgrimage, experienced the liberality and the kindness of Saladin, who adopted every precaution to protect them against the dangers which they might encounter on their way to the Holy City; and they contrasted to the sultan's advantage this conduct with that of king Richard, who threw every obstacle in the way of their devotion. He even, to have it in his power to prevent the French from performing their vows, requested of Saladin to admit no one into the Holy City without a pass from himself or king Henry; but the sultan replied, that he did not think it right to hinder people, who had come from distant lands to pray at the tomb of their Saviour, from performing their vows; and he hospitably entertained in his camp those of the French who made the pilgrimage. Many of them, however, in consequence of the opposition which king Richard gave them, returned home without attaining the object of their journey to the East.

When nearly all the French were gone, king Richard gave permission for all who pleased to visit the

holy city. The pilgrims set out in three bodies under Andrew de Savigny, Ralph Teissum, and the valiant bishop of Salisbury. The first, not waiting for the escort which Malek-el-Adel was to have sent, ran some danger on the way, they however reached Jerusalem in safety; but their conscience smote them, and they viewed the words and gestures of the Turks who lay encamped before the gate of Jerusalem, as menacing them with revenge for the murder of the garrison of Acre. They spent the night in terror on a hill without the town; but next day their fears were dispelled, when Malek-el-Adel and other emirs conducted them to the holy places, and the sultan entertained them and sent an escort with them to the frontier. The second body, in which was Master Gaufrid Vinesauf, the historian of the crusade, met with the same kind treatment; but the bishop of Salisbury, who led the third, and was commissioned to make the prayer and the offering of king Richard at the holy sepulchre, was received with the utmost distinction. Saladin sent some of his officers to invite the martial prelate to take up his abode in the royal palace. The bishop with all due courtesy declined this invitation, as his vow, he alleged, obliged him to live as a pilgrim; but he readily accepted the gifts of the sultan and the attentions of the emirs. The Moslem prince, curious to be acquainted with the chivalrous prelate, invited him to a conference. He there gratified him by a sight of the true cross; their conversation, carried on through interpreters, was long. Saladin was minute in his en-

quiries about king Richard, and about what the Christians thought of the Saracens. The bishop extolled the valour and the generosity of his sovereign, and expressed his opinion, that if the virtues of king Richard and of Saladin were combined in one he would be the greatest prince the world had ever seen. Saladin calmly listened and then replied, "Of the amazing boldness and valour of your king we have had abundant proofs, yet it appears to me that he sets his life at stake, I will not say madly, but certainly rashly and without advantage. For my own part I would rather look for princely greatness by moderation and generosity than by temerity and foolhardiness." The sultan desired the bishop to ask him a favour, and gave him till the next day to consider of it. His request, which Saladin readily granted, was that two Latin priests and as many deacons might be permitted to serve, at the cost of the pilgrims, in the churches of the Holy Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, the exclusive possession of which had been given to the Syrian Christians when the Moslems had recovered the country.

RETURN OF KING RICHARD.

After an abode in Syria of a month from the conclusion of the truce for the recovery of his health, Richard, having sent away his queen and his sister under the care of Stephen of Turneham, embarked himself with a small retinue on the 9th of October at Acre,

on board of a large ship which he had fitted out, and took his leave of Palestine, where he had spent sixteen months, illustrated by feats of personal valour, but tarnished by his inconsistency and impetuosity of character. The impression made by his surprising prowess on the minds of the Saracens was so great, that for years afterwards, as we are told by the Sire de Joinville, when a horse started they cried, "Dost thou think it is king Richard of England?" And when infants screamed, their mothers said, "Be quiet, be quiet, or I will go look for king Richard to kill thee." Those who saw king Richard depart from Acre, and who, though they loved him not, admired his valour, regretted to lose his aid: and the inconsistent monarch himself is said to have shed tears as he left the port, and to have cried, "O Holy Land! I commend thy people unto God. Heaven grant that I may yet return to visit and to aid thee!"

Such was the end of the third crusade; with an enormous waste of lives and treasure, the two towns of Acre and Joppa had been acquired for the king of Jerusalem, and the precarious dominion of the Christians in the East had been given a longer duration than seemed to have been destined for it. Not less than half a million of warriors, the flower of Germany, France, and England—for the rabble which had swelled the numbers of the former armies of the cross had been kept away from the hosts of Frederic, Richard, and Philip—perished by the sword, by famine, and disease. Every noble family of the West counted one of its members among the mar-

tyrs, as the church, for their consolation, assured them they had been; an emperor and his son, prelates and princes, barons and knights without number, expired far from their native land. "We reckoned," said Balian of Ibelin to Saladin, "the Christians who came over the sea at six hundred thousand men, and not one of every ten returns to his own home."

The king of England, after leaving the port of Acre, was tossed about by storms during six weeks. It is probable that with his usual want of forethought he had never fixed on the route which he intended to pursue, in order to reach his own dominions, though danger environed him on all sides, as the king of France, the emperor of Germany, the count of Toulouse, the duke of Austria, and all the family of Monferrat, were his enemies. He came at last within view of the coast of Barbary; but he feared to make for the port of Marseilles, which was distant but three days' sail; the safer course of pursuing his voyage through the straits of Gibraltar seems never to have entered his mind, and he directed his course to the Adriatic. Off Corfu his ship was attacked by two corsairs; but as the master of it was acquainted with the pirates, he made peace, and they all together entered a port of the island. The king here engaged one of the corsairs to convey him and his companions to the coast of Istria, as he had now fixed on repairing to his nephew the duke of Saxony.

CAPTURE OF KING RICHARD.

THE royal voyager suffered shipwreck between Venice and Aquileia; but he got safe to shore, and under the disguise of a borrowed name, a long beard, and the clothing of the country, he pursued his journey through the territory of count Meinhard of Görtz, a relative of the marquis Conrad. But the expenses of the traveller accorded more with those of a monarch than of Hugh, the merchant, (his assumed character,) and the gift of a ruby ring, which he sent to the count when requesting a free passage, betrayed his quality. Meinhard treacheously sought to seize him; but the king escaped, and proceeded to Carinthia, where the brother of Meinhard dealing more openly, sent Roger d'Argenton, a Norman knight, who had been thirty years in his service, to secure his person. But the Norman recognising his native prince, furnished him with a fleet horse for his escape, and the king fled in the night, attended only by William de l'Etang, and a servant, who spoke the German language. The remainder of his companions were made captives.

During three days and nights, king Richard roamed about, and at length he arrived at Erdburg, a village on the Danube, not far from Vienna, where he took up his abode in a miserable inn, intending to repose there for some days. The duke of Austria knowing that his enemy was in Germany, had guards set on all the roads to intercept him, and Richard,

with characteristic imprudence, continued to spend beyond what suited his appearance, and he would not lay aside a valuable ring which he wore on his finger. His servant too, when he went to make some purchases at Vienna, having conducted himself with great imprudence, and showed several eastern gold coins, was arrested, and only escaped by asserting that he belonged to a rich merchant, who would arrive in a few days. When he returned he urged the king to set forth without delay; but Richard still lingered, the servant continued to visit Vienna, the fine quality of the provisions which he purchased attracted attention, and at length the king's gloves, which he carried in his girdle, betrayed him. He was seized a few days before Christmas, and put to the torture, and he confessed the truth. The inn was immediately surrounded with armed men; the mayor of Vienna entered, saying, "I greet thee, king of England, thou disguisest thyself in vain, thy face betrays thee." The king was laying hold on his sword; but the mayor desired him to be cautious what he did, assuring him that he was safer there than anywhere else, and that if he had fallen into the hands of the friends of the marquis, who were on the look-out for him, he would not have escaped even though he had a hundred lives. The king declaring that he would surrender to no one but the duke, Leopold appeared, and he handed him his sword. The royal captive was placed in the castle of Tierenstein, on the Danube, between Vienna and Lintz, and armed men, with drawn swords, watched over

him day and night. The duke of Austria lost no time in informing the emperor Henry VI. of the important prize he had made; and at Christmas he conducted his captive to Ratisbon, where the emperor held the feast, and as that monarch professed not to deem it becoming that a king should remain in the hands of a simple duke, Leopold promised to surrender his prisoner against the ensuing Easter. The emperor wrote immediately to inform the king of France of what had passed.

RICHARD IN CAPTIVITY.

On the Thursday after Palm-Sunday, 23d March, 1193, Leopold delivered, at Mentz, to the emperor, his royal prisoner, who was placed in confinement in the castle of Trifels, whence he was afterwards removed to Worms. His cheerfulness never abandoned him, and he amused himself with playing tricks on his keepers, making them drink, or amazing them by proofs of his great strength.

The English pilgrims who reached their home against Christmas, were surprised to find that their king was not yet returned, especially as they had met at Brundusium the ship in which he had sailed. The nation was in great anxiety about his fate, when the king of France communicated to the archbishop of Rouen the information which he had received from the emperor. A council was held (February 28) at Oxford, and two abbots were despatched to Germany to ascertain his situation. They met the king in Bavaria on his way to Mentz; he was cheerful as usual,

and complained of nothing but of the conduct of his brother John. His treatment while in the hands of the duke of Austria, had not been, he said, by any means harsh or unreasonably severe.

It is thus, we should think, quite evident that the English nation were not for any time ignorant of the fate of their king, and of the place of his captivity. Accordingly, none of the historians express any doubt on the subject; but a romantic tale of the discovery of his prison, by a distinguished minstrel, named Blondel de Nesle, gradually gained ground, and eventually is become a part of most histories of England. The tale is thus told in a manuscript chronicle of the thirteenth century:—*

"Now we will tell you of king Richard, whom the duke of Austria held in prison, and no one knew aught of him, save only the duke and his councillors. Now it happened, that he had for a long time had a minstrel who was born in Artois, and was named Blondiaus. This man resolved in himself, that he would seek his lord in all countries till he had found him, or till he had heard tidings of him; and so he set forth, and he wandered day after day so long by pool and marsh, that he had spent a year and a half, and never could hear any sure tidings of the king; and he rambled on till he came into Austria, as chance led him, and went straight to the castle where the king was in prison; and he took up his abode in the house of a widow woman, and asked her whose

* Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, vol. ii.

was that castle that was so fair and strong and well seated. The hostess made answer, and said that it was the duke of Austria's. 'Fair hostess,' said Blondiaus, 'is there any prisoner in it now?' 'Yea, doubtless,' said she, 'one who has been there these four years, but we cannot learn of a certainty who he is; but they guard him very diligently, and we surely think that he is a gentle man and a great lord.' And when Blondiaus heard these words he marvelled, and he thought in his heart that he had found what he was in quest of, but he said nought of it to the hostess. He slept that night and was at ease, and when he heard the horn sounding the day, he got up and went to the church to pray to God to aid him; and then he came to the castle, and went up to the castellan and told him that he was a player on the viol, and would willingly abide with him if it pleased him. The castellan was a young knight and handsome, and he said that he would willingly retain him. Then Blondiaus departed, and he went for his viol and his instruments, and he so served the castellan, that he was well with all the family and his services pleased much. So he stayed there all the winter, and he never could know who the prisoner was. At length, he was going one day in the festival of Easter through the garden which was by the tower, and he looked around to try if by any chance he could see the prisoner. So while he was in that thought, the king looked and saw Blondiaus, and thought how he should make himself known to him; and he called to mind a song which they had made between

them two, and which no one knew save the king. So he began loud and clearly to sing the first verse, for he sung right well. And when Blondiaus heard him, he knew of a certainty that it was his lord, and he had the greatest joy in his heart that ever he had on any day; and he went forthwith out of the orchard and entered his chamber where he lay, and took his viol and began to play a note, and in playing he delighted himself on account of his master whom he had found. So Blondiaus tarried till Pentecost, and concealed himself so well that no one doubted of his secret. Then Blondiaus came to the castellan and said to him, 'Sire, if it please you, I would willingly go to mine own country, for it is a long time since I have been there.' 'Blondiel my fair brother,' said the castellan, 'this you will by no means do if you believe me, but you will remain here and I will do you great good.' 'Certes, sire,' said Blondiaus, 'I would not stay on any wise.' When the castellan saw that he could not keep him, he gave him his congé and therewith a good nag. Then Blondiaus parted from the castellan and journeyed till he came to England, and told the friends of the king and the barons where he had found the king and how. When they heard these tidings they were greatly rejoiced, for the king was the most liberal knight that ever wore a spur. And they took counsel among them to send to Austria to the duke to ransom the king, and they chose two knights to go thither of the most valiant and most wise. And they journeyed till they came to Austria to the duke, and they found him in

one of his castles, and they saluted him on the part of the barons of England, and said to him, 'Sire, they send to you and pray that you will take ransom for their lord, and they will give you as much as you desire.' The duke replied, that he would take counsel on it, and when he had taken counsel, he said, 'Lords, if ye wish to have him ye must ransom him for two hundred thousand marks sterling, and make no reply, for it would be lost labour.' Then the messengers took leave of the duke, and said that they would report it to the barons, and they would then take counsel on it. So they came back to England and told the barons what the duke had said, and they said that the matter should not stand for that. Then they made ready the ransom and they sent it to the duke, and the duke delivered up to them the king; but he first made them give him good security, that he should never be molested for it."

Another chronicle quoted by Fouchet* gives a similar account. It says, that Blondel came one day before a window of the tower in which Richard was confined, and began to sing a song which they had made together. When he had sung it half through the king took it up and sang the remainder, and thus Blondel knew that it was his master.

It is scarcely necessary to say that romances like these are not to be set in comparison with the narratives of sober historians like Matthew Paris, and

* Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie Françoise, rime et romans, p. 92.

that, therefore, the whole tale of Richard and Blondel should be regarded as a mere fiction. It is very displeasing to the enquirer after historic truth to see such a writer as Sir James Mackintosh relating the tale as a truth on the authority of the chronicle just quoted. The reader should have been told that it is the sole authority, and its value should have been stated.*

To this time also belongs the legend of King Richard's combat with the lion and 'robbing him of his heart," whence he came to be called Cœur de Lion, or Lion-heart.

We are told† that while he was a prisoner to the emperor Henry, a fierce and hungry lion was one day let loose and turned at him, with the design, it was thought, that he might tear him to pieces, and the blame might be thrown on the negligence of the keeper. But Richard, nothing daunted, wrapped his cloak round his arm, and as the lion came on with open jaws and full of fury, he thrust his arm down his throat, and grasping his heart tore it out, and then ate it "hot and raw," whence, says our author, he got the name of *Ricardus cor leonis.*

It is perhaps needless to inform the reader that the

* "He was one day (at Trifels,) answered from without by a well-known voice, that of Blondel his minstrel, who had probably been sent from England to convey information to the king, and to gain intelligence of his situation."—History of England, i. p. 192. Richard was not in Trifels till Easter, and the two English abbots had met and conversed with him on his way thither.

† Knyghton, *De event. Angliæ,* l. ii. apud Twisden x. *Scriptores,* &c. p. 2408.

feat here recorded is an impossibility, and that the name which was given to Richard for his valour gave occasion to the legend. To return—

The king of France, when assured of the captivity of his formidable rival, made war on his dominions, and he wrote to the emperor, who had promised Richard his liberty for a ransom, pressing him to detain him. The pope, urged by the queen and sister of king Richard, who were then at Rome, and by the earnest letters of queen Eleanor, menaced the emperor with excommunication. The learned Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, wrote to his schoolfellow the archbishop of Mentz, exhorting him to use the spiritual sword without fear or hesitation; and the abbot of Clugny wrote to the emperor, calling upon him to be just and upright towards his illustrious captive; the poets all deplored the fate of the chivalrous king of England, and excited the compassion of all orders of men in his favour. King Richard himself, by the advice of his mother, offered to hold his crown in fee of the emperor, as the superior lord of all kings, and to pay an annual tribute of five thousand pounds; and in the presence of several English and German barons, he handed his hat to the emperor as a symbol, and was by him in like symbolical manner invested with the kingdom of England by a double golden cross.

Henry summoned at Easter (1193) his new vassal to defend himself before the diet, and justify himself from the charges of having aided Tancred the usurping king of Sicily; of having deposed Isaac of Cyprus, who was a relative of the emperor; of

having caused the marquis Conrad, a vassal of the empire, to be murdered by assassins; of having ill-treated the German crusaders, insulted the banner of the duke of Austria, betrayed the Holy Land to Saladin, and committed sundry acts of disloyalty against his liege king Philip of France. King Richard, though acknowledging the hastiness of his temper, which had led him into many unbecoming actions, defended himself against all these charges with such eloquence, that the duke of Austria, who was present, was melted to tears, and the emperor descending from his throne, embraced him, and promised him his friendship. The treatment of king Richard became now more gentle, and he was assigned a suitable abode in the city of Mentz.

After various delays and increases of demand on the part of the emperor, owing to the practices of the king of France and prince John with him, the ransom of king Richard was agreed on on the 29th of June. The king was to pay down one hundred thousand marks of pure silver, and a further sum of fifty thousand marks in aid of the emperor's war in Apulia, in which last sum were included twenty thousand which the duke of Austria was to have, and the king was to give sixty hostages to the emperor and seven to the duke for its payment. These fifty thousand marks were, however, to be remitted if the king of England aided the emperor against the duke of Saxony, the emperor undertaking to satisfy the duke of Austria. Farther, king Richard was to give his niece Eleanor, sister to Arthur duke of Brittany, in marriage to Frederic son of the duke of Austria, and he

was to deliver up the king of Cyprus and his daughter, without ransom, to that prince, who was their relative.

The time required for raising so large a sum of money, and the difficulties started by the emperor, prolonged the captivity of king Richard for several months. The emperor showed him and his mother queen Eleanor, who had come to Germany, the letters of king Philip and prince John, and they found themselves obliged to appeal to the German princes who had guaranteed the treaty at Worms. The emperor was then forced to give way, and on the 4th of February (1194) king Richard was once more free. On the 13th of March he landed at Sandwich, and to efface the shame of his captivity he had himself crowned anew by the archbishop of Canterbury.

King Richard immediately made his complaints to pope Celestine of the conduct of the emperor and the duke of Austria; especially of that of the latter, who had, as he said, sold him like an ox or an ass. The pontiff directed Leopold to release his English hostages, and to remit the ransom of the king; but the Austrian duke gave no heed to the repeated admonitions of the holy father, and excommunication was pronounced against himself, and his duchy laid under interdict. Still undismayed, he sent Baldwin of Bethune to inform king Richard, that unless he fulfilled his agreement, he would hang the hostages, and Richard, moved by this threat, committed the two princesses to Baldwin, to conduct them to Austria.

But duke Leopold was by this time no more. As he was celebrating a tournay in Grätz at Christmas, his horse fell with him and broke his leg. The nature of the fracture was such as to call for amputation, but no surgeon would venture to preform the operation; the duke himself, then taking an axe, laid it on his leg, and his chamberlain by his directions struck it with a hammer. At the third blow the limb came off, but there remained no hopes of the duke's life. His conscience now smote him, but the archbishop of Saltzburg, to whom he addressed himself, would readmit him into the bosom of the church, only on condition of his setting the English hostages at liberty, remitting his demands on the king of England, and returning the money which he had received. On the duke's swearing to perform these conditions, the prelate granted him absolution. Leopold's son Frederic hesitated to fulfil what his father had sworn, but, the clergy refusing to suffer the body of the deceased duke to be interred, he was obliged to submit, and to release the hostages. Baldwin of Bethune, hearing on the way of the death of duke Leopold, conducted the princesses back to king Richard.

A philosophical historian* makes the following just observations on the foregoing transaction:—"So sordid and base were the objects aimed at in the most pompous language and the most solemn proceedings, when a great monarch was brought to

* Mackintosh, History of England, vol. i. p. 194.

trial before the emperor and the most illustrious princes, for having by a foul murder brought dishonour on the Christian name. The purpose of all these high-sounding terms was no more than to extort one hundred thousand marks of silver." Baser conduct is nowhere perhaps to be found than that of the emperor; the duke of Austria, who had been grossly insulted, had certainly some excuse, but what rights had the emperor of Germany over the king of England? He was not a vassal of the empire, and any offences he might have committed, did not make him amenable to the tribunal of the German princes. But the true secret of the affair is this, a good opportunity of extorting money had presented itself, and was not to be let slip.

Yet this was the age of chivalry! If we believe romancers, and philosophers,* and historians, who give the reins to their imagination, and set before us a state of manners drawn from the old romances as a reality, there was flourishing at this time an institution to which all kings and nobles belonged, which, after a course of previous discipline and education, bound him who entered it to the practice of all that ennobles and gives dignity to the human character. More than once have we asserted that the crusades present no traces of such an institution, which we believe never to have existed, save in the romances, till the dukes of Burgundy, of the house of Valois, and some other princes, attempted to reduce to prac-

* See Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.

tice what the author of Perceforest, and other romance writers, had invented. This is not the place to give our proofs, but we are confident that it will be difficult to adduce any *historic* evidence of this artificial state of manners anterior to the 14th, we might perhaps say the 15th, century.

DEATH OF SALADIN.

FROM the impetuous, capricious, rude, ferocious king of England, and his paltry chaffering captors, we return with pleasure to his great opponent, the noble, mild, and generous sultan, Saladin. After the departure of king Richard, Saladin, who now enjoyed peace for the first time for thirty years, turned all his thoughts to the regulation of the internal affairs of his kingdom. The enlargement and improvement of Jerusalem was one of his first objects; he inclosed the chapel of Mount Zion within its walls, and he established and endowed in it a school and a hospital. As he had concluded the holy war, he meditated the pilgrimage to Mecca, but on the representations of his emirs he gave up this project. Having visited the cities of the coast, he set out for Damascus, his favourite residence, intending, after reposing a while there, to proceed to Egypt.

Saladin arrived at Damascus November 4; and on the 16th of the following February his friend, the cadi Boha-ed-deen, who had repaired thither from Jerusalem at his command, beheld with grief the change which had taken place in him. He had lost

all his application to business, and he was melancholy and depressed even to tears. On the 19th February the cadi informed him that the caravan of pilgrims from Mecca was approaching. The sultan gave orders that the streets, which the late heavy rains had inundated, should be cleaned, and he rode out himself to meet the caravan. The following night he was attacked by a bilious fever, but he got up in the morning, and conversed a long time with the cadi and with his son, prince Malek-el-Afdal. Bleeding was injudiciously resorted to. The disorder gained ground every day, and on the 3rd March, 1193, the great Saladin expired, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, mourned unfeignedly by his family, his friends, his emirs, and all the people over whom he had ruled. "With him," says his secretary Emad-ed-deen, "died the great men,—with him disappeared the people of merit; good actions became scarce, evil ones increased, life grew difficult, darkness covered the earth, the age wept its phœnix, Islâm lost its stay." The Christians, who, of course, saw in his death the righteous judgment of God on the determined foe of the faith, did however justice, nay, more than justice, to the merits of the deceased sultan.

The funeral of the mighty Saladin was defrayed with borrowed money, for the treasury of the lord of Syria and Egypt contained but a single gold coin of Tyre, and forty-seven small pieces of silver. He was interred in the place where he died, and three years afterwards, his son, Malek-el-Afdal, having raised a

mausoleum for him near the great mosk, conveyed his body thither in state.

Christian writers tell, the Orientals are silent on it, that Saladin, previous to his death, gave orders to one of his emirs to go through the streets of Damascus, carrying his shroud, and crying with a loud voice, "Behold all that Saladin the conqueror of the East taketh away with him!" This story was perhaps invented for its moral, but it may be true, as something similar is told by the Orientals of the khalif Moawiah.

CHARACTER AND ANECDOTES OF SALADIN.*

YUSSUF SALAH-ED-DEEN MALEK-EN-NASSER, whom we usually call Saladin, occupied too important a place in the history of his time to be neglected by the contemporary writers. His friend the cadi Boha-ed-deen, whom we have often had occasion to quote, devoted a work to the history of his life, and various traits of him are given by other Oriental writers. There would be therefore no character in Eastern history which we have better means of learning than his, were it not that he had the singular fortune to find none but panegyrists. We must therefore re-

* His proper name was Yûssuf (Joseph); Salah-ed-deen (*Safety of Religion*) was a title of honour probably given by his family; when he was made vizier of Egypt, he took, as was the custom, another title of honour, Malek-en-Nasser (*Victorious King*). The full name of Noor-ed-deen, in like manner, was Mahmood Noor-ed-deen Malek-el-Adel. Family names are unknown in the East, as they were in ancient Greece.

ceive his praises with caution, and estimate him solely by his actions.

Saladin, as we have frequently seen, was generous. The Syrian bishop Aboo-'l-Faraj, relates the following anecdote, which shows the difference between him and the conscientious Noor-ed-deen. When Saladin became master of Damascus, he, according to his custom, distributed among his emirs the treasures he found there. The task of distribution he committed to Ibn Mokaddem, who had put the city into his hands.* The emir helped himself first, but he did not venture to fill his hand. Saladin surprised: asked the cause he laughed and said, that one time when grapes were being distributed, and he helped himself to large handfuls, Noor-ed-deen observed to him, that if he went on in that way, there would not be enough for all. "Avarice," said Saladin, "was made for traders, not for kings," and he desired him to fill his hand, and if that was not enough to put in both. This was very liberal, no doubt, but we know not that it is to be preferred to the strict justice of Noor-ed-deen.

Saladin was of a mild disposition; he bore contradiction patiently, and often let things go unnoticed rather than punish them. One day a Mamlook flung his boot at his comrade, and it fell close by where Saladin was sitting. He turned aside his head, and took no heed of it. In his last illness he called for some warm water; they brought it to him boiling hot; he sent it away, and they brought it to him ice-

* See p. 153.

cold; "God be praised!" said he, "can I not get water as I want it?" Another person in his situation, said the cadi Fadal, who was present, and who told the story with tears in his eyes, would have flung the water in the stupid servant's face.

The sultan loved his children, and used to join in their plays. When he came to Damascus, after concluding the peace with the king of England, he had his family brought to him. One of his younger sons, named Emir, was a great favourite, and he frequently played with him. The Christian envoys found him and Emir one day at their play. The child when he saw men with shaven chins, with short hair, and clad in a strange fashion, began to cry, and Saladin making excuses, put off the audience to another day. We cannot doubt the truth of this anecdote, but it is curious that nearly the same thing should be told of the Spartan king Agesilaus, and of Henry IV. of France.

"My son," said Saladin to his son Malek-ed-daher *(Conquering King,)* when a little before his death he was sending him to the government of Aleppo, "My son, honour the Almighty God, the author of all good, and obey his commandments, for that will bring thee salvation. Beware of shedding blood, for the blood that is shed slumbereth not. Gain the hearts of thy people, and provide for their welfare, for it is committed unto thee by God, and by me. Gain the hearts of the emirs, and the great men, for it is by mildness alone that I have mounted to the lofty station on which I stand. Hate no one, for

death awaits us all. Do injury to no one, for men forgive not till they have taken vengeance; it is God alone, who is merciful, that pardons on simple repentance."

Saladin was an implicit believer in all the dogmas of Islâm, and he hated and punished heretics and innovators. He made all who were about him read their Korâns diligently. Seeing one day a little child reading the Korân to his father, he was melted to tears, and bestowed both money and lands on them.

Like Noor-ed-deen, he was exact in the dispensing of justice. He sat twice a week with the cadis and lawyers. Cases of length and difficulty he considered at his leisure, and "gave sentence as God inspired him." An Armenian merchant cited him one time, he appeared and defended himself, and showed that the merchant was in the wrong; he then gave him a sum of money on account of the good opinion he had had of the equity of himself and his judges. One day when he was about to retire to take some rest, one of his Mamlooks came and presented the petition of some injured person. He begged him to wait till the next day. "I cannot wait," said he, and nearly thrust his paper in the sultan's face. Saladin picked it up, and seeing his demand was just, declared it should be satisfied. "Let my lord write it," said the Mamlook. "There is no inkstand," said the sultan, who was sitting in the door of his tent so that no one could go in. "There is one behind thee in the tent," replied he, which was equivalent to telling

the prince to get it. "So help me God," said Saladin, turning and looking back, "he says the truth;" and leaning on his left hand, he stretched his right hand and took it, and signed the paper as required. Another time as he was consulting with his generals, a woman presented a petition. He put her off. "Why," said she, "are you our king, if you will not be our judge!" "She is right," said the sultan, and he immediately went to her, and gave her satisfaction.

Of the generosity and nobleness of mind of Saladin, abundant instances have been given. No man ever was more faithful to his engagements than he, and his word was never broken. Though a zealous Moslem, and therefore hating the Christians as infidels, he was humane and just to them as individuals. When he first became master of Egypt, in compliance with the sterner and purer bigotry of Noor-ed-deen, he deprived the Christians of that country of the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Fatimite khalifs, the most tolerant of Moslem princes. They were obliged to wear a peculiar dress, could only ride on asses, could hold no public employment, ring no bells in their churches, nor walk in procession on Palm Sunday. The crosses were cast down, and the walls of the churches covered with mire. But as soon as Noor-ed-deen was dead, all these vexations ended; and, as before, the Egyptian Christians became the treasurers, secretaries, stewards, etc. of the princes and emirs. This conduct won him their hearts; their eulogies of him

were almost higher than those of the Moslems, and being conveyed to Europe by the Italian traders, probably contributed to augment his fame in the West.

The founder of a dynasty can hardly be exempt from ambition. According to Ibn-el-Athir, Saladin meditated the conquest of the remainder of the Mohammedan East, and thus acquiring a dominion more extensive than that of the house of Seljûk had been. Boha-ed-deen gives us to understand, that his views of conquest were even still more extensive. He accompanied Saladin, when after the taking of Kowkab, he went down to inspect Ascalon and the cities of the coast. It was winter, and the cadi then saw the sea for the first time, when, as the Korân saith, "the waves were rising like mountains," and he said to himself, that for the whole world he would not go a mile upon it, and became of the opinion of those who hold, that a man who does so, should be held to be mad, and his evidence not be admissible in a court of justice. While he was thus meditating, the sultan turned to him, and said, "I will tell thee what I am thinking of. When God shall have put into my hands the rest of the Christian towns, I will divide my dominions among my children, and leave them my last instructions; I will then embark on this sea, and go to subdue the isles and countries of the West: I will not lay down my arms till there is not an infidel on the earth, if death does not seize me before that time."

These words amazed the cadi, and he replied, "Of a truth there is not on earth courage, strength of

mind, and zeal for religion, like those of the sultan. His courage is shown in that the view of this raging sea stops him not, and as to his zeal, the sultan, not content with driving the enemies of God from one spot of earth such as Palestine here, would purge the entire earth of them. Nothing doubtless can be nobler than the project of the sultan. It would, however, be better for him to remain here, and to send his armies, for he is the stay of Islâm."—"I make thyself the judge," said Saladin, "which is the most glorious death."—"Without doubt, that in which one falls in the cause of God." "Then," said he, "I am right in desiring this kind of death."

"O my God!" subjoins the cadi, "thou knowest what his zeal was for the defence of thy religion; thou knowest with what ardour he would have sacrificed himself for thy sake! It was in the hope of enjoying thy mercy. Therefore show thou him mercy!"

To estimate the character of Saladin by the views of it given by his friends, we should pronounce it nearly faultless; but it is indelibly stained, according to European ideas, by his ingratitude to Noor-ed-deen, whose family he deprived of their dominions almost without a pretext. But the sin of the father was visited on the children; for his own brother and mate in arms Malek-el-Adel, the gentle, the tender, and the romantic* (according to our romancers) did

* "Malek-el-Adel," says an Oriental writer, "ate enormously, and more than people are in the habit of doing; it is said that he used to eat a young lamb at a single meal."

to the sons of Saladin, as Saladin had done to the son of Noor-ed-deen.

We have already seen* that whatever Saladin's own wishes might have been, he was obliged to bear with the vices and improprieties of those who had aided him in the attainment of empire. It is also evident, that his Mamlooks enjoyed a great degree of licence, and he showed but little prudence in instituting this body of guards, who becoming like the prætorians at Rome, the Turkish guards at Bagdad, and all body-troops of the kind, the disposers of empire, within half a century after Saladin's death, placed one of their own body on his throne.

Viewing Saladin's character on the whole, and judging it by Oriental maxims, as that of a man who rose from a private station to empire, it is well deserving of praise, though subductions must be made for his treatment of the family of Noor-ed-deen and the murder (for such it was) of sultan Shawer; of that of the khalif we have already given our reasons for supposing him innocent, though we must confess, we cannot clear away all grounds of suspicion, and like so many other dubious points in history, it is likely to remain a problem for ever.

* See above, page 150.

CONCLUSION.

HAD king Richard, it is said, remained six months longer in the East, the Holy Land might possibly have been recovered, for Saladin died within that space of time and his family fell into disunion. We doubt if such would have been the case, for the disunion was not very great at first, and Malek-el-Adel, whose talents were little inferior to those of his brother, was still remaining to lead the Moslems. Even had the Holy City been retaken, we cannot think that the Latins, hated by the Oriental Christians, and continually assailed by the Moslems, could have retained the country. We may lay it down as an axiom that dominion never is permanent which is not based on the affections of the people, and that justice and moderation are the only sure modes of attaching subjects to their governors. Never yet were masters less endowed with the requisite qualities for inspiring affection in those under their dominion than the Pullani of Syria.

The crusade which we have just narrated, was the last in which armies combated for the possession of the Holy Land upon its own soil. Nine years after the departure of king Richard, (1202) an army, led by Baldwin count of Flanders, embarked on board of vessels furnished by the republic of Venice, but its arms were directed against the Byzantine empire, and it placed its leader on the throne of Constanti-

nople, which was occupied by Latin princes for a space of fifty-seven years.

In the year 1216 an army of crusaders, led by Andrew II. king of Hungary, landed in Syria. A vain attempt was made on the fortress of Mount Tabor, and it was finally deemed the better course to assail the Moslem dominion in Egypt, as, if that country was conquered, Syria would present no difficulty. But the cardinal of Albano, who, as representative of the pope, claimed the chief command, was utterly devoid of military knowledge. He led his army into the country at the very time the Nile was rising; the sultan Malek-el-Kamel, son of Malek-el-Adel, opened the sluices and inundated the country all around them, and to escape destruction the Christians were forced to agree to evacuate the country and to restore the city of Damietta which they had taken. (1221).

In the year 1228 the emperor Frederic II. collected an army in Apulia with which he sailed to the East. He landed at Acre, and a good deal of courtesy was exchanged between him and sultan Malek-el-Kamel, who, to oblige him, ceded to him Jerusalem and the villages between it and Acre, reserving the mosk of Omar and another place of worship in the Holy City for the Moslems.

St. Louis, king of France, landed (1244) in Egypt, while the son of Malek-el-Kamel occupied the throne. Damietta was abandoned by the Moslems; but when the French advanced into the country they were defeated, and the king and his whole army were obliged

to surrender themselves prisoners. They obtained their liberty at the cost of a large ransom. It was a fatal expedition to the grandson of Malek-el-Adel, for the Mamlooks, conscious of their own power, took this occasion to deprive him of life and throne, on which they set one of their own commanders, and thus, fifty-seven years after the death of Saladin, terminated the dynasty of the Eyúbides in Egypt.

This was the last attempt of any importance made for the recovery of the Latin dominion in the East. Owing to the want of union among the Moslem princes, and the effect produced on the Mohammedan world by the irruption into it of the Tatar hordes of Chingis Khan, the Latin power still prolonged its feeble existence in the towns of the coast; but in the year 1291 Acre fell beneath the arms of the able Mamlook sultan Bibars. Though crusades to the Holy Land were afterwards talked of in the West, none were ever seriously meditated, and the increase and approximation of the formidable power of the Ottoman Turks soon drew the thoughts of the nations of Europe to the danger that was menacing them at their own doors.

Into the details of the crusades of the thirteenth century it is not our present purpose to enter. Doubtless they contain matter that is highly interesting, and present some of the most remarkable characters of the middle ages. The overthrow of the Eastern empire, the invasions of Egypt, the persecution of the Albigenses, the origin and progress of the power of the Tatars, are subjects well calculated

to awaken and detain attention, and the characters of such men as the pope Innocent III., the emperor Frederic II., Saint Louis, and Chingis Khan, are well deserving of being displayed and studied. But we have only undertaken to give a popular view of the crusades, to exhibit the manners and feelings of those times, and present to view some of the principal characters, both Christian and Moslem, which then appeared on the political stage. For this purpose we have selected a period of about a century, which forms what we may call an epic whole, as it has a beginning, a middle, and an end: namely, the establishment, duration, and fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. We have endeavoured to trace causes, exhibit effects, and display characters, and manners. We have, as far as we were able, sought to divest ourselves of all prejudice, and to judge men according to the degree of light which they enjoyed, and hence our censure will often be found moderate, our praise higher perhaps than could justly be bestowed on those whose moral sense had the guides which are given to it at the present day, and in Christian Europe. It is for the young more especially that we have written; our object has been to interest, and at the same time to instruct them, and to show that truth may have nearly as many charms to display as fiction. Should our anticipations be verified, should our volumes become favourites with the young, and just conceptions of the nature and causes of these remarkable expeditions be derived from them, we shall

have attained our end, have gained our best and most cheering reward.

Ere we conclude, we must make a few remarks on the probable influence of the Crusades on the progress of civilization in the kingdoms of the West.

Nothing is more difficult than to state positively what the real consequences of a political measure have been; for we have no means of discovering what would have been the state of things if it had not taken place. Ingenuity has here abundant room to display its powers, and assertion may be combated by assertion, but still all remains mere conjecture. In the present case, we find two diametrically opposite opinions advanced; one party ascribing all the good which took place in Europe subsequent to the eleventh century to the Crusades, another representing them as purely and simply mischievous, and obstacles in the way of civilization. Probably here too, as elsewhere, truth lies in the middle; though the Crusades certainly did not produce *all* the good imputed to them, they may have produced *some*; and though it is not just to deprive them of all redeeming qualities, we must concede that they had in them a sufficient alloy of evil to neutralize much of their good. Surely if we believe the affairs of man to be guided and directed by a great moral Power who out of evil brings forth good, we cannot suppose that such great and important events in the history of man as the Crusades, could have been

without effect in advancing the state of social improvement which was then in progress. Even if their influence was of a retarding nature, it may have been beneficial, for political, like physical developement, may go on too rapidly.

Were we to assert any positive benefit which resulted to Europe from these expeditions to Asia, it would be this. They retarded the conquest of the Eastern empire by the Turks. At the time of the First Crusade, the earnest entreaties of the able emperor Alexius to the Western princes for aid prove the danger which his empire was in from the Seljûkian Turks. The victories gained over them by Godfrey and his companions enfeebled them very much, and then the wars of a century with the Latins of the Holy Land gave such ample employment to the different Turkish princes, that no plan for uniting their forces for the overthrow of the Greek empire ever could be formed. But had there not been a warlike people established in Syria, to occupy the arms of the Turks, Constantinople, which fell before a small army of Crusaders, might have opened her gates to the Seljûkians in the twelfth instead of to the Ottomans in the fifteenth century, and what might not have been the effects of this entrance of the Mohammedans into Europe at a time when her states were all in a loose and disorganised condition? But it is not for us to penetrate the secrets of Providence; we may only venture to conjecture that the earlier fall of the Byzantine empire might

have checked, nay, almost blighted, the opening blossoms of social order and civil government.

All things considered, we think we may venture to repeat, though not dogmatically, the observations which we have made in another place*, on the effects of the Crusades.

"The Crusades, though originating in folly and superstition, and productive of a large quantity of positive suffering to both Europe and Asia, have, in the order of Providence, been also productive of good. They awoke the mind of Europe from its slumber of ignorance and barbarism, by bringing it into contact with the more polished nations of the East; they enlarged the sphere of ideas, gave a taste for elegance and refinement, extended navigation and commerce, and thereby encreased the wealth and power of cities; they diminished the property and influence of the factious and tyrannic nobles, and enlarged the authority of monarchs. The degree of intercourse that prevailed between Europe and Asia, during the period of the crusades, was far beyond what we usually conceive. It has not become adequately known until very recently."

* Outlines of History, p. 259.

THE END.

Note.—Vol. I. p. 140.

The readers of Tasso must be aware that the most interesting female character in his poem, the tender and gentle Erminia, is represented as being the daughter of the prince of Antioch. The original historians in general make no mention of such a person; but Orderic Vitalis, a contemporary, who gives a very romantic account of the liberation of Boemond from captivity, hereafter to be noticed, says that on that occasion the daughter of the Emir of Antioch, who was a captive in the hands of the Christians, also obtained her liberty. She quitted the camp of the faithful with tears, and on being asked the reason said, that she wept because she should get no more of the excellent pork to eat; for, as the historian informs his readers, the Saracens do not eat pork, though they esteem the flesh of the dog and the wolf to be great delicacies. This pork-loving princess was the original of the poet's Erminia! But what cannot genius effect?

LONDON: PRINTED BY S. BENTLEY, DORSET-STREET.